RIG-VEDA-SANHITA.

RIG-VEDA-SANHITA.

THE SACRED HYMNS OF THE BRAHMANS

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED

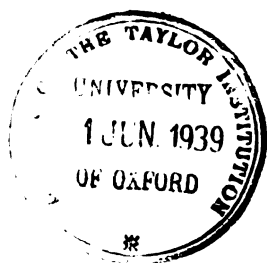
BY

F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A., LL.D.

FELLOW OF ALL SOULS COLLEGE;
PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT OXFORD;
FOREIGN MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, ETC., ETC.

VOL. I.

HYMNS TO THE MARUTS OR THE STORM-GODS.

LONDON:
TRÜBNER AND CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1869.

To the Memory

OF

COLEBROOKE, ROSEN, BURNOUF,

THE THREE FOUNDERS

OF VEDIC SCHOLARSHIP IN EUROPE.

PREFACE.

WHEN some twenty years ago I decided on undertaking the first edition of the two texts and the commentary of the Rig-veda, I little expected that it would fall to my lot to publish also what may, without presumption, be called the first translation of the ancient sacred hymns of the Brahmans. Such is the charm of deciphering step by step the dark and helpless utterances of the early poets of India, and discovering from time to time behind words that for years seemed unintelligible, the simple though strange expressions of primitive thought and primitive faith, that it required no small amount of self-denial to decide in favour of devoting a life to the publishing of the materials rather than to the drawing of the results which those materials supply to the student of ancient language and ancient religion. Even five and twenty years ago, and without waiting for the publication of Sâya*n*a's commentary, much might have been achieved in the interpretation of the hymns of the Rig-veda. With the MSS. then

accessible in the principal libraries of Europe, a tolerably correct text of the Sanhitâ might have been published, and these ancient relics of a primitive religion might have been at least partially deciphered and translated in the same way in which ancient inscriptions are deciphered and translated, viz. by a careful collection of all grammatical forms, and by a complete intercomparison of all passages in which the same words and the same phrases occur. When I resolved to devote my leisure to a critical edition of the text and commentary of the Rig-veda rather than to an independent study of that text, it was chiefly from a conviction that the traditional interpretation of the Rig-veda, as embodied in the commentary of Sâya*n*a and other works of a similar character, could not be neglected with impunity, and that sooner or later a complete edition of these works would be recognized as a necessity. It was better therefore to begin with the beginning, though it seemed hard sometimes to spend forty years in the wilderness instead of rushing straight into the promised land.

It is well known to those who have followed my literary publications that I never entertained any exaggerated opinion as to the value of the traditional interpretation of the Veda, handed down in the theological schools of India, and preserved to us in the great commentary of Sâya*n*a. More than twenty years ago, when it required more courage to speak out than now, I expressed my

opinion on that subject in no ambiguous language, and was blamed for it by some of those who now speak of Sâya*n*a as a mere drag in the progress of Vedic scholarship. A drag, however, is sometimes more conducive to the safe advancement of learning than a whip; and those who recollect the history of Vedic scholarship during the last five and twenty years, know best that, with all its faults and weaknesses, Sâya*n*a's commentary was a *sine quâ non* for a scholarlike study of the Rig-veda. I do not wonder that others who have more recently entered on that study are inclined to speak disparagingly of the scholastic interpretations of Sâya*n*a. They hardly know how much we all owe to his guidance in effecting our first entrance into this fortress of Vedic language and Vedic religion, and how much even they, without being aware of it, are indebted to that Indian Eustathius. I do not withdraw an opinion which I expressed many years ago, and for which I was much blamed at the time, that Sâya*n*a in many cases teaches us how the Veda ought not to be, rather than how it ought to be understood. But for all that, who does not know how much assistance may be derived from a first translation, even though it is imperfect, nay, how often the very mistakes of our predecessors help us in finding the right track? If we can now walk without Sâya*n*a, we ought to bear in mind that five and twenty years ago we could not have made even our first steps, we could never,

at least, have gained a firm footing, without his leading strings. If therefore we can now see further than he could, let us not forget that we are standing on his shoulders.

I do not regret in the least the time which I have devoted to the somewhat tedious work of editing the commentary of Sâyana, and editing it according to the strictest rules of critical scholarship. The Veda, I feel convinced, will occupy scholars for centuries to come, and will take and maintain for ever its position as the most ancient of books in the library of mankind. Such a book, and the commentary of such a book, should be edited once for all; and unless some unexpected discovery is made of more ancient MSS., I do not anticipate that any future Bekker or Dindorf will find much to glean for a new edition of Sâyana, or that the text, as restored by me from a collation of the best MSS. accessible in Europe, will ever be materially shaken*. It has taken

* Since the publication of the first volume of the Rig-veda, many new MSS. have come before me, partly copied for me, partly lent to me for a time by scholars in India, but every one of them belonged clearly to one of the three families which I have described in my introduction to the first volume of the Rig-veda. In the beginning of the first Ashtaka, and occasionally at the beginning of other Ashtakas, likewise in the commentary on hymns which were studied by native scholars with particular interest, various readings occur in some MSS., which seem at first to betoken an independent source, but which are in reality mere marginal notes, due to more or less learned students of

a long time, I know; but those who find fault with me for the delay, should remember that few scholars, if any, have worked for others more than I have done in copying and editing Sanskrit texts,

---

these MSS. Thus after verse 3 of the introduction one MS. reads: sa prâha n*ri*pati*m* râ*g*an, sâya*n*âryo mamânu*gah*, sarva*m* vetty esha vedânâ*m* vyâkhyât*ri*tvena yu*g*yatâm. The same MS., after verse 4, adds: ityukto mâdhavârye*n*a vîrabukkamahîpati*h*, anva*s*ât sâyâ*n*â*k*ârya*m* vedârthasya prakâ*s*ane.

I had for a time some hope that MSS. written in Grantha or other South-Indian alphabets might have preserved an independent text of Sâya*n*a, but from some specimens of a Grantha MS. collated for me by Mr. Eggeling, I do not think that even this hope is meant to be realised. The MS. in question contains a few independent various readings, such as are found in all MSS., and owe their origin clearly to the jottings of individual students. When at the end of verse 6, I found the independent reading, vyutpannas tâvatâ sarvâ *rik*o vyâkhyâtum arhati, I expected that other various readings of the same character might follow. But after a few additions in the beginning, and those clearly taken from other parts of Sâya*n*a's commentary, nothing of real importance could be gleaned from that MS. I may mention as more important specimens of marginal notes that, before the first puna*h* kîd*ris*am, on page 44, line 24, this MS. reads: athavâ ya*g*ñasya devam iti sambandha*h*, ya*g*ñasya prakâ*s*akam ityartha*h*, purohitam iti p*ri*thagvi*s*esha*n*am. And again, page 44, line 26, before puna*h* kîd*ris*am, this MS. adds: athavâ *ri*tvi*g*am *ri*tvigvid (vad) ya*g*ña-nirvâhaka*m* hotâra*m* devânâm âhvâtâram; tathâ ratnadhâtamam. In the same line, after ratnânâm, we read rama*n*îyadhanânâ*m* vâ, taken from page 46, line 2. Various readings like these, however, occur on the first sheets only, soon after the MS. follows the usual and recognized text. For the later Ash*t*akas, where all the MSS. are very deficient, and where an independent authority would be of real use, no Grantha MS. has as yet been discovered.

and that after all one cannot give up the whole of one's life to the collation of Oriental MSS. and the correction of proof-sheets. The two concluding volumes have long been ready for Press, and as soon as I can find leisure, they too shall be printed and published.

In now venturing to publish the first volume of my translation of the Rig-veda, I am fully aware that the fate which awaits it will be very different from that of my edition of the text and commentary. It is a mere contribution towards a better understanding of the Vedic hymns, and though I hope it may give in the main a right rendering of the sense of the Vedic poets, I feel convinced that on many points my translation is liable to correction, and will sooner or later be replaced by a more satisfactory one. It is difficult to explain to those who have not themselves worked at the Veda, how it is that, though we may understand almost every word, yet we find it so difficult to lay hold of a whole chain of connected thought, and to discover expressions that will not throw a wrong shade on the original features of the ancient words of the Veda. We have, on the one hand, to avoid giving to our translations too modern a character, or paraphrasing instead of translating; while, on the other, we cannot retain expressions which, if literally rendered in English or any modern tongue, would have an air of quaintness or absurdity totally foreign to the intention of the ancient poets. There

are, as all Vedic scholars know, whole verses which, as yet, yield no sense whatever. There are words the meaning of which we can only guess. Here, no doubt, a continued study will remove some of our difficulties, and many a passage that is now dark, will receive light hereafter from a happy combination. Much has already been achieved by the efforts of European scholars, but much more remains to be done; and our only chance of seeing any rapid progress made lies, I believe, in communicating freely what every one has found out by himself, and not minding if others point out to us that we have overlooked the very passage that would at once have solved our difficulties, that our conjectures were unnecessary, and our emendations wrong. True and honest scholars whose conscience tells them that they have done their best, and who care for the subject on which they are engaged more than for the praise of benevolent or the blame of malignant critics, ought not to take any notice of merely frivolous censure. There are mistakes, no doubt, of which we ought to be ashamed, and for which the only *amende honorable* we can make is to openly confess and retract them. But there are others, particularly in a subject like Vedic interpretation, which we should forgive, as we wish to be forgiven. This can be done without lowering the standard of true scholarship or vitiating the healthy tone of scientific morality. Kindness and gentleness are not

incompatible with earnestness,—far from it!—and where these elements are wanting, not only is the joy embittered which is the inherent reward of all *bonâ fide* work, but selfishness, malignity, aye, even untruthfulness, gain the upper hand, and the healthy growth of science is stunted. While in my translation of the Veda and in the remarks that I have to make in the course of my commentary, I shall frequently differ from other scholars, I hope I shall never say an unkind word of men who have done their best, and who have done what they have done in a truly scholarlike, that is, in a humble spirit. It would be unpleasant, even were it possible within the limits assigned, to criticise every opinion that has been put forward on the meaning of certain words or on the construction of certain verses of the Veda. I prefer, as much as possible, to vindicate my own translation, instead of examining the translations of other scholars, whether Indian or European. Sâya*n*a's translation, as rendered into English by Professor Wilson, is before the world. Let those who take an interest in these matters compare it with the translation here proposed. In order to give readers who do not possess that translation, an opportunity of comparing it with my own, I have for a few hymns printed that as well as the translations of Langlois and Benfey on the same page with my own. Everybody will thus be enabled to judge of the peculiar character of each of these transla-

tions. That of Sâya*n*a represents the tradition of India; that of Langlois is the ingenious, but thoroughly uncritical, guess-work of a man of taste; that of Benfey is the rendering of a scholar, who has carefully worked out the history of some words, but who assigns to other words either the traditional meaning recorded by Sâya*n*a, or a conjectural meaning which, however, would not always stand the test of an intercomparison of all passages in which these words occur. I may say, in general, that Sâya*n*a's translation was of great use to me in the beginning, though it seldom afforded help for the really difficult passages. Langlois' translation has hardly ever yielded real assistance, while I sincerely regret that Benfey's rendering does not extend beyond the first Ma*nd*ala.

It may sound self-contradictory, if, after confessing the help which I derived from these translations, I venture to call my own the first translation of the Rig-veda. The word translation, however, has many meanings. I mean by translation, not a mere rendering of the hymns of the Rig-veda into English, French, or German, but a full account of the reasons which justify the translator in assigning such a power to such a word, and such a meaning to such a sentence. I mean by translation a real deciphering, a work like that which Burnouf performed in his first attempts at a translation of the Avesta,—a *traduction raisonnée*, if such an expression may be used. Without such a process,

without a running commentary, a mere translation of the ancient hymns of the Brahmans will never lead to any solid results. Even if the translator has discovered the right meaning of a word or of a whole sentence, his mere translation does not help us much, unless he shows us the process by which he has arrived at it, unless he places before us the *pièces justificatives* of his final judgment. The Veda teems with words that require a justification; not so much the words which occur but once or twice, though many of these are difficult enough, but rather the common words and particles, which occur again and again, which we understand to a certain point, and can render in a vague way, but which must be defined before they can be translated, and before they can convey to us any real and tangible meaning. It was out of the question in a translation of this character to attempt either an imitation of the original rhythm or metre, or to introduce the totally foreign element of rhyming. Such translations may follow by and by: at present a metrical translation would only be an excuse for an inaccurate translation.

While engaged in collecting the evidence on which the meaning of every word and every sentence must be founded, I have derived the most important assistance from the Sanskrit Dictionary of Professors Boehtlingk and Roth, which has been in course of publication during the last sixteen years. The Vedic portion of that Dictionary may,

I believe, be taken as the almost exclusive work of Professor Roth, and as such, for the sake of brevity, I shall treat it in my notes. It would be ungrateful were I not to acknowledge most fully the real benefit which this publication has conferred on every student of Sanskrit, and my only regret is that its publication has not proceeded more rapidly, so that even now years will elapse before we can hope to see it finished. But my sincere admiration for the work performed by the compilers of that Dictionary does not prevent me from differing, in many cases, from the explanations of Vedic words given by Professor Roth. If I do not always criticise Professor Roth's explanations when I differ from him, the reason is obvious. A dictionary without a full translation of each passage, or without a justification of the meanings assigned to each word, is only a preliminary step to a translation. It represents a first classification of the meanings of the same word in different passages, but it gives us no means of judging how, according to the opinion of the compiler, the meaning of each single word should be made to fit the general sense of a whole sentence. I do not say this in disparagement, for, in a dictionary, it can hardly be otherwise; I only refer to it in order to explain the difficulty I felt whenever I differed from Professor Roth, and was yet unable to tell how the meaning assigned by him to certain words would be justified by the author of the Dictionary himself. On this ground

I have throughout preferred to explain every step by which I arrived at my own renderings, rather than to write a running criticism of Professor Roth's Dictionary. My obligations to him I like to express thus once for all, by stating that whenever I found that I agreed with him, I felt greatly assured as to the soundness of my own rendering, while whenever I differed from him, I never did so without careful consideration.

The works, however, which I have hitherto mentioned, though the most important, are by no means the only ones that have been of use to me in preparing my translation of the Rig-veda. The numerous articles on certain hymns, verses, or single words occurring in the Rig-veda, published by Vedic scholars in Europe and India during the last thirty years, were read by me at the time of their publication, and have helped me to overcome difficulties, the very existence of which is now forgotten. If I go back still further, I feel that in grappling with the first and the greatest of difficulties in the study of the Veda, I and many others are more deeply indebted than it is possible to say, to one whose early loss has been one of the greatest misfortunes to Sanskrit scholarship. It was in Burnouf's lectures that we first learnt what the Veda was, and how it should form the foundation of all our studies. Not only did he most liberally communicate to his pupils his valuable MSS., and teach us how to use these tools, but the results of his own

experience were freely placed at our service, we were warned against researches which he knew to be useless, we were encouraged in undertakings which he knew to be full of promise. His minute analysis of long passages of Sâya*n*a, his independent interpretations of the text of the hymns, his comparisons between the words and grammatical forms, the thoughts and legends of the Veda and Avesta, his brilliant divination checked by an inexorable sense of truth, and his dry logical method enlivened by sallies of humour and sparks of imaginative genius, though not easily forgotten and always remembered with gratitude, are now beyond the reach of praise or blame. Were I to criticise what he or other scholars have said and written many years ago, they might justly complain of such criticism. It is no longer necessary to prove that Nâbhânedish*th*a cannot mean 'new relatives,' or that there never was a race of Etendhras, or that the angels of the Bible are in no way connected with the Aṅgiras of the Vedic hymns; and it would, on the other hand, be a mere waste of time, were I to attempt to find out who first discovered that in the Veda *deva* does not always mean *divine*, but sometimes means *brilliant*. In fact, it could not be done. In a new subject like that of the interpretation of the Veda, there are certain things which everybody discovers who has eyes to see. Their discovery requires so little research that it seems almost an insult to say that they were dis-

covered by this or that scholar. Take, for instance, the peculiar pronunciation of certain words, rendered necessary by the requirements of Vedic metres. I believe that my learned friend Professor Kuhn was one of the first to call general attention to the fact that semivowels must frequently be changed into their corresponding vowels, and that long vowels must sometimes be pronounced as two syllables. It is clear, however, from Rosen's notes to the first Ash*t*aka (i. 1, 8), that he, too, was perfectly aware of this fact, and that he recognized the prevalence of this rule, not only with regard to semivowels (see his note to Rv. i. 2, 9) and long vowels which are the result of Sandhi, but likewise with regard to others that occur in the body of a word. 'Animadverte,' he writes, 'tres syllabas postremas vocis adhvarâ*n*âm dipodiæ iambicæ munus sustinentes, penultima syllaba præter iambi prioris arsin, thesin quoque sequentis pedis ferente. Satis frequentia sunt, in hac præsertim dipodiæ iambicæ sede, exempla syllabæ natura longæ in tres moras productæ. De qua re nihil quidem memoratum invenio apud Pingalam aliosque qui de arte metrica scripserunt: sed numeros ita, ut modo dictum est, computandos esse, taciti agnoscere videntur, quum versus una syllaba mancus non eos offendat.'

Now this is exactly the case. The ancient grammarians, as we shall see, teach distinctly that where two vowels have coalesced into one according to

the rules of Sandhi, they may be pronounced as two syllables; and though they do not teach the same with regard to semivowels and long vowels occurring in the body of the word, yet they tacitly recognize that rule, by frequently taking its effects for granted. Thus in Sûtra 950 of the Prâtisâkhya, verse ix. 111, 1, is called an Atyash*t*i, and the first pâda is said to consist of twelve syllables. In order to get this number, the author must have read,

ăyâ ru*k*â hări*n*yâ pŭnână*h*.

Immediately after, verse iv. 1, 3, is called a Dh*r*iti, and the first pâda must again have twelve syllables. Here therefore the author takes it for granted that we should read,

săkhē săkhâyăm ăbhy̆ â văv*r*ītsvă *.

No one, in fact, with any ear for rhythm, whether *S*aunaka and Piṅgala, or Rosen and Kuhn, could have helped observing these rules when reading the Veda. But it is quite a different case when we come to the question as to which words admit of such protracted pronunciation, and which do not. Here one scholar may differ from another according to the view he takes of the character of Vedic

* See also Sûtra 937 seq. I cannot find any authority for the statement of Professor Kuhn (Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 114) that according to the Rik-prâtisâkhya it is the *first* semivowel that must be dissolved, unless he referred to the remarks of the commentator to Sûtra 973.

metres, and here one has to take careful account of the minute and ingenious observations contained in numerous articles by Professors Kuhn, Bollensen, Grassmann, and others. With regard to the interpretation of certain words and sentences, too, it may happen that explanations which have taxed the ingenuity of some scholars to the utmost, seem to others so self-evident that they would hardly think of quoting anybody's name in support of them, to say nothing of the endless and useless work it would entail, were we obliged always to find out who was the first to propose this or that interpretation. It is impossible here to lay down general rules:—each scholar must be guided by his own sense of justice to others and by self-respect. Let us take one instance. From the first time that I read the fourth hymn of the Rig-veda, I translated the fifth and sixth verses:

utá bruvantu na*h* nída*h* ní*h* anyáta*h* *k*it ârata,
  dádhânâ*h* índre ít dúva*h*,
utá na*h* su-bhágân arí*h* vo*k*éyu*h* dasma k*r*ish*t*áya*h*,
  syấma ít índrasya sárma*n*i.

1. Whether our enemies say, 'Move away elsewhere, you who offer worship to Indra only,'—

2. Or whether, O mighty one, all people call us blessed: may we always remain in the keeping of Indra.

About the general sense of this passage I imagined there could be no doubt, although one word in it, viz. arí*h*, required an explanation. Yet the variety

of interpretations proposed by different scholars is extraordinary. First, if we look to Sâya*n*a, he translates:

1. May our priests praise Indra! O enemies, go away from this place, and also from another place! Our priests (may praise Indra), they who are always performing worship for Indra.

2. O destroyer of enemies! may the enemy call us possessed of wealth; how much more, friendly people! May we be in the happiness of Indra!

Professor Wilson did not follow Sâya*n*a closely, but translated:

1. Let our ministers, earnestly performing his worship, exclaim: Depart, ye revilers, from hence and every other place (where he is adored).

2. Destroyer of foes, let our enemies say we are prosperous: let men (congratulate us). May we ever abide in the felicity (derived from the favour) of Indra.

Langlois translated:

1. Que (ces amis), en fêtant Indra, puissent dire: Vous, qui êtes nos adversaires, retirez-vous loin d'ici.

2. Que nos ennemis nous appellent des hommes fortunés, placés que nous sommes sous la protection d'Indra.

Stevenson translated:

1. Let all men again join in praising Indra. Avaunt ye profane scoffers, remove from hence, and from every other place, while we perform the rites of Indra.

2. O foe-destroyer, (through thy favour) even our enemies speak peaceably to us, the possessors of wealth; what wonder then if other men do so. Let us ever enjoy the happiness which springs from Indra's blessing.

Professor Benfey translated:

1. And let the scoffers say, They are rejected by every one else, therefore they celebrate Indra alone.

2. And may the enemy and the country proclaim us as happy, O destroyer, if we are only in Indra's keeping.

Professor Roth, s. v. anyáta*h*, took this word rightly in the sense of 'to a different place,' and must therefore have taken that sentence 'move away elsewhere' in the same sense in which I take it. Later, however, s. v. ar, he corrected himself, and proposed to translate the same words by 'you neglect something else.'

Professor Bollensen (Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 462), adopting to a certain extent the second rendering of Professor Roth in preference to that of Professor Benfey, endeavoured to show that the 'something else which is neglected,' is not something indefinite, but the worship of all the other gods, except Indra.

It might, no doubt, be said that every one of these translations contains something that is right, though mixed up with a great deal that is wrong; but to attempt for every verse of the Veda to quote and to criticise every previous translation, would

be an invidious and useless task. In the case just quoted, it might seem right to state that Professor Bollensen was the first to see that ari*h* should be joined with k*r*ish*t*áya*h*, and that he therefore proposed to alter it to arî*h*, as a nom. plur. But on referring to Rosen, I find that, to a certain extent, he had anticipated Professor Bollensen's remark, for though, in his cautious way, he abstained from altering the text, yet he remarked: Possitne ari*h* pluralis esse, contracta terminatione, pro araya*h*?

After these preliminary remarks I have to say a few words on the general plan of my translation.

I do not attempt as yet a translation of the whole of the Rig-veda, and I therefore considered myself at liberty to group the hymns according to the deities to which they are addressed. By this process, I believe, a great advantage is gained. We see at one glance all that has been said of a certain god, and we gain a more complete insight into his nature and character. Something of the same kind had been attempted by the original collectors of the ten books, for it can hardly be by accident that each of them begins with hymns addressed to Agni, and that these are followed by hymns addressed to Indra. The only exception to this rule is the eighth Ma*nd*ala, for the ninth being devoted to one deity, to Soma, can hardly be accounted an exception. But if we take the Rig-veda as a whole, we find hymns, addressed to the

same deities, not only scattered about in different books, but not even grouped together when they occur in one and the same book. Here, as we lose nothing by giving up the old arrangement, we are surely at liberty, for our own purposes, to put together such hymns as have a common object, and to place before the reader as much material as possible for an exhaustive study of each individual deity.

I give for each hymn the Sanskrit original in what is known as the Pada text, i. e. the text in which all words (pada) stand by themselves, as they do in Greek or Latin, without being joined together according to the rules of Sandhi. The text in which the words are thus joined, as they are in all other Sanskrit texts, is called the Sanhitâ text. Whether the Pada or the Sanhitâ text be the more ancient, may seem difficult to settle. As far as I can judge, they seem to me, in their present form, the product of the same period of Vedic scholarship. The Prâtisâkhyas, it is true, start from the Pada text, take it, as it were, for granted, and devote their rules to the explanation of those changes which that text undergoes in being changed into the Sanhitâ text. But, on the other hand, the Pada text in some cases clearly presupposes the Sanhitâ text. It leaves out passages which are repeated more than once, while the Sanhitâ text always repeats these passages; it abstains from dividing the termination of the loca-

tive plural su, whenever in the Sanhitâ text, i. e. according to the rules of Sandhi, it becomes shu; hence nadîshu, a*g*ishu, but ap-su; and it gives short vowels instead of the long ones of the Sanhitâ, even in cases where the long vowels are justified by the rules of the Vedic language. It is certain, in fact, that neither the Pada nor the Sanhitâ text, as we now possess them, represent the original text of the Veda. Both show clear traces of scholastic influences. But if we try to restore the original form of the Vedic hymns, we shall certainly arrive at some kind of Pada text rather than at a Sanhitâ text; nay, even in their present form, the original metre and rhythm of the ancient hymns of the *R*ishis are far more perceptible when the words are divided, than when we join them together throughout according to the rules of Sandhi. Lastly, for practical purposes, the Pada text is far superior to the Sanhitâ text in which the final and initial letters, that is, the most important letters of words, are constantly disguised, and liable therefore to different interpretations. Although in some passages we may differ from the interpretation adopted by the Pada text, and although certain Vedic words have, no doubt, been wrongly analysed and divided by *S*âkalya, yet such cases are comparatively few, and where they occur, they are interesting as carrying us back to the earliest attempts of Vedic scholarship. In the vast majority of cases the divided

text, with a few such rules as we have to observe in reading Latin, nay, even in reading Pali verses, brings us certainly much nearer to the original utterance of the ancient *R*ishis than the amalgamated text.

The critical principles by which I have been guided in editing for the first time the text of the Rig-veda, require a few words of explanation, as they have lately been challenged on grounds which, I think, rest on a complete misapprehension of my previous statements on this subject.

As far as we are able to judge at present, we can hardly speak of various readings in the Vedic hymns, in the usual sense of that word. Various readings to be gathered from a collation of different MSS., now accessible to us, there are none. After collating a considerable number of MSS., I have succeeded, I believe, in fixing on three representative MSS., as described in the preface to the first volume of my edition of the Rig-veda. Even these MSS. are not free from blunders,—for what MS. is?—but these blunders have no claim to the title of various readings. They are *lapsus calami*, and no more; and, what is important, they have not become traditional*.

---

* Thus x. 101, 2, one of the Pada MSS. (P. 2) reads distinctly ya*g*ñám prá k*r*i*n*uta sakhâya*h*, but all the other MSS. have nayata, and there can be little doubt that it was the frequent repetition of the verb k*r*i in this verse which led the writer to substitute k*r*i*n*uta for nayata. No other MS., as far as I

The text, as deduced from the best MSS. of the Sanhitâ text, can be controlled by four independent checks. The first is, of course, a collation of the best MSS. of the Sanhitâ text.

The second check to be applied to the Sanhitâ text is a comparison with the Pada text, of which, again, I possessed at least one excellent MS., and several more modern copies.

---

am aware, repeats this blunder. In ix. 86, 34, the writer of the same MS. puts ra*g*asi instead of dhâvasi, because his eye was caught by râ*g*â in the preceding line. x. 16, 5, the same MS. reads sá*m* ga*kk*h*asva instead of ga*kkh*atâm, which is supported by S. 1, S. 2, P. 1, while S. 3. has a peculiar and more important reading, ga*k*-*kh*atât. x. 67, 6, the same MS. P. 2. has ví *k*akartha instead of ví *k*akarta.

A number of various readings which have been gleaned from Pandit Târânâtha's Tulâdânâdipaddhati (see Trübner's American and Oriental Literary Record, July 31, 1868) belong to the same class. They may be due either to the copyists of the MSS. which Pandit Târânâtha used while compiling his work, or they may by accident have crept into his own MS. Anyhow, not one of them is supported either by the best MSS. accessible in Europe, or by any passage in the Prâtisâkhya.

Rv. ix. 11, 2,	read	devayu	instead of	devayu*h* †.
ix. 11, 4,	„	ar*k*ata	„	ar*k*ate †.
ix. 14, 2,	„	yadî sabandhava*h*	„	yaddîptabandhava*h* †.
ix. 16, 3,	„	anaptam	„	anuptam †.
ix. 17, 2,	„	suvânâsa	„	stuvânâsa †.
ix. 21, 2,	„	pravri*n*vanto	„	pravri*n*vato †.
ix. 48, 2,	„	sa*m*vrikta	„	sa*m*yukta †.
ix. 49, 1,	„	no 'pâm	„	no yâm †.
ix. 54, 3,	„	sûrya*h*	„	sûryam †.
ix. 59, 3,	„	sîda ni	„	sîdati †.

† As printed by Pandit Târânâtha.

The third check was a comparison of this text with Sâya*n*a's commentary, or rather with the text which is presupposed by that commentary. In the few cases where the Pada text seemed to differ from the Sanhitâ text, a note was added to that effect, in the various readings of my edition; and the same was done, at least in all important cases, where Sâya*n*a clearly followed a text at variance with our own.

The fourth check was a comparison of any doubtful passage with the numerous passages quoted in the Prâti*s*âkhya.

These were the principles by which I was guided in the critical restoration of the text of the Rig-veda, and I believe I may say that the text as printed by me is more correct than any MS. now accessible, more trustworthy than the text followed by Sâya*n*a, and in all important points identically the same with that text which the authors of the Prâti*s*âkhya followed in their critical researches in the fifth or sixth century before our era. I believe that starting from that date our text of the Veda is better authenticated, and supported by a more perfect *apparatus criticus*, than the text of any Greek or Latin author, and I do not think that diplomatic criticism can ever go beyond what has been achieved in the constitution of the text of the Vedic hymns.

Far be it from me to say that the *editio princeps* of the text thus constituted was printed without mistakes. But most of these mistakes are mistakes

which no attentive reader could fail to detect. Cases like ii. 35, 1, where *góg*ishat instead of *gó*shishat was printed three times, so as to perplex even Professor Roth, or ii. 12, 14, where *s*asamânám occurs three times instead of *s*asamânám, are, I believe, of rare occurrence. Nor do I think that, unless some quite unexpected discoveries are made, there ever will be a new critical edition, or, as we call it in Germany, a new recension of the hymns of the Rig-veda. If by collating new MSS., or by a careful study of the Prâti*s*âkhya, or by conjectural emendations, a more correct text could have been produced, we may be certain that a critical scholar like Professor Aufrecht would have given us such a text. But after carefully collating several MSS. of Professor Wilson's collection, and after enjoying the advantage of Professor Weber's assistance in collating the MSS. of the Royal Library at Berlin, and after a minute study of the Prâti*s*âkhya, he frankly states that in the text of the Rig-veda, transcribed in Roman letters, which he printed at Berlin, he followed my edition, and that he had to correct but a small number of misprints. For the two Ma*nd*alas which I had not yet published, I lent him the very MSS. on which my edition is founded; and there will be accordingly but few passages in these two concluding Ma*nd*alas, which I have still to publish, where the text will materially differ from that of his Romanised transcript.

No one, I should think, who is at all acquainted with the rules of diplomatic criticism, would easily bring himself to touch a text resting on such authorities as the text of the Rig-veda. What would a Greek scholar give, if he could say of Homer that his text was in every word, in every syllable, in every vowel, in every accent, the same as the text used by Peisistratos in the sixth century B.C.! A text thus preserved in its integrity for so many centuries, must remain for ever the authoritative text of the Veda.

To remove, for instance, the hymns 49–59 in the eighth Ma*nd*ala from their proper place, or count them by themselves as Vâlakhilya* hymns, seems to me little short of a critical sacrilege. Why Sâya*n*a does not explain these hymns, I con-

---

* The earliest interpretation of the name Vâlakhilya is found in the Taittirîya-âra*n*yaka i. 23. We are told that Pra*g*âpati created the world, and in the process of creation the following interlude occurs:

sa tapo 'tapyata. sa tapas taptvâ *s*arîram adhûnuta. tasya yau mâ*m*sam âsît tato 'ru*n*â*h* ketavo vâtara*s*anâ *r*ishaya udatish*th*an. ye nakhâ*h*, te vaikhânasâ*h*. ye bâlâ*h*, te bâlakhilyâ*h*.

He burned with emotion. Having burnt with emotion, he shook his body. From what was his flesh, the *R*ishis, called Aru*n*as, Ketus, and Vâtara*s*anas, sprang forth. His nails became the Vaikhânasas, his hairs the Bâlakhilyas.

The author of this allegory therefore took bâla or vâla in vâlakhilya, not in the sense of child, but identified it with bâla, hair.

The commentator remarks with regard to tapas: nâtra tapa upavâsâdirûpam, ki*m*tu srash*t*avya*m* vastu kîd*r*i*s*am iti paryâlo*k*anarûpam.

fess I do not know*; but whatever the reason was, it was not because they did not exist at his time, or because he thought them spurious. They are regularly counted in Kâtyâyana's Sarvânukrama, though here the same accident has happened. One commentator, Sha*d*gurusishya, the one most commonly used, does not explain them; but another commentator, *G*agannâtha, does explain them, exactly as they occur in the Sarvânukrama, only leaving out hymn 58. That these hymns had something peculiar in the eyes of native scholars, is clear enough. They may for a time have formed a separate collection, they may have been considered of more modern origin. I shall go even further than those who remove these hymns from the place which they have occupied for more than two thousand years. I admit they disturb the regularity both of the Ma*nd*ala and the Ash*t*aka divisions, and I have pointed out myself that they are not counted in the ancient Anukrama*n*îs ascribed to *S*aunaka; (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 220.) But, on the other hand, verses taken from these hymns occur in all the other Vedas†; the hymns

* A similar omission was pointed out by Professor Roth. Verses 21–24 of the 53rd hymn of the third Ma*nd*ala, which contain imprecations against Vasish*th*a, are left out by the writer of a Pada MS., and by a copyist of Sâya*n*a's commentary, probably because they both belonged to the family of Vasish*th*a. See my edition of the Rig-veda, vol. ii. p. lvi, Notes.

† This is a criterion of some importance, and it might have

themselves are never included in the collections of Parisish*t*as or Khilas or apocryphal hymns, nor does Kâtyâyana ever mention mere Khilas in his Sarvânukrama. Eight of them are mentioned in the B*r*ihaddevatâ, without any allusion to their apocryphal character:

Parâ*n*y ash*t*au tu sûktâny *r*ishî*n*âm tigmate*g*asâm,
Aindrâ*n*y atra tu sha*d*vi*m*sa*h* pragâtho bahudaivata*h*.
*R*ig antyâgner a*k*ety agni*h* sûryam antyapado *g*agau.
Praska*n*va*s* *k*a p*r*ishadhra*s* *k*a prâdâd yad vastu ki*mk*ana
Bhûrîd iti tu sûktâbhyâm akhilam parikîrtitam.
Aindrâ*n*y ubhayam ity atra sha*l* âgneyât parâ*n*i tu.

'The next eight hymns belong to *R*ishis of keen intellect *; they are addressed to Indra, but the 26th Pragâtha (viii. 54, 3–4, which verses form the 26th couplet, if counting from viii. 49, 1) is addressed to many gods. The last verse (of these eight hymns), viii. 56, 5, beginning with the words a*k*ety agni*h*, is addressed to Agni, and the last

---

been mentioned, for instance, by Professor Bollensen in his interesting article on the Dvipadâ Virâ*g* hymns ascribed to Parâsara (i. 65–70) that not a single verse of them occurs in any of the other Vedas.

* Lest *S*aunaka be suspected of having applied this epithet, tigmate*g*as, to the Vâlakhilyas in order to fill the verse (pâdapûra*n*ârtham), I may point out that the same epithet is applied to the Vâlakhilyas in the Maitry-upanishad 2, 3. The nom. plur. which occurs there is tigmate*g*asâ*h*, and the commentator remarks: tigmate*g*asas tîvrate*g*aso 'tyûr*g*itaprabhâvâ*h*; te*g*asâ ityeva*m*vidha eta*kkh*âkhâsanketapâ*th*as *kh*ândasa*h* sarvatra.

foot celebrates Sûrya. Whatsoever Praska*n*va and P*r*ishadhra gave (or, if we read p*r*ishadhrâya, whatever Praska*n*va gave to P*r*ishadhra), all that is celebrated in the two hymns beginning with bhûrît. After the hymn addressed to Agni (viii. 60, 1), there follow six hymns addressed to Indra, beginning with ubhayam.'

But the most important point of all is this, that these hymns, which exist both in the Pada and Sanhitâ texts, are quoted by the Prâti*s*âkhya, not only for general purposes, but for special passages occurring in them, and nowhere else. Thus in Sûtra 154, hetáya*h* is quoted as one of the few words which does not require the elision of a following short a. In order to appreciate what is implied by this special quotation, it is necessary to have a clear insight into the mechanism of the Prâti*s*âkhya. Its chief object is to bring under general categories the changes which the separate words of the Pada text undergo when joined together in the Ârshî Sanhitâ, and to do this with the utmost brevity possible. Now the Sandhi rules, as observed in the Sanhitâ of the Rig-veda, are by no means so uniform and regular as they are in later Sanskrit, and hence it is sometimes extremely difficult to bring all the exceptional cases under more or less general rules. In our passage the author of the Prâti*s*âkhya endeavours to comprehend all the passages where an initial a in the Veda is not elided after a final e or o. In ordinary

Sanskrit it would be always elided, in the Sanhitâ it is sometimes elided, and sometimes not. Thus the Prâtisâkhya begins in Sûtra 139 by stating that if the short a stands at the beginning of a pâda or foot, it is always elided. Why it should be always elided in the very place where the metre most strongly requires that it should be pronounced, does not concern the author of the Prâtisâkhya. He is a statistician, not a grammarian, and he therefore simply adds in Sûtra 153 the only three exceptional passages where the a, under these very circumstances, happens to be not elided. He then proceeds in Sûtra 139 to state that a is elided even in the middle of a pâda, provided it be light, followed by y or v, and these, y or v, again followed by a light vowel. Hence the Sanhitâ writes te 'vădan, so 'yăm, but not sîkshanto 'vratam, for here the a of avratam is heavy; nor mitramaho 'vadyât, for here the a following the v is heavy.

Then follows again an extension of this rule, viz. in the case of words ending in âvo. After these, a short a, even if followed by other consonants besides y or v, may be elided, but the other conditions must be fulfilled, i. e. the short a must be light, and the vowel of the next syllable must again be light. Thus the Sanhitâ writes indeed gâvo 'bhĭta*h*, but not gâvo 'gman, because here the a is heavy, being followed by two consonants.

After this, a more general rule, or, more correctly, a more comprehensive observation is made,

viz. that under all circumstances initial a is elided, if the preceding word ends in aye, ayah, ave, or avah. As might be expected, however, so large a class must have numerous exceptions, and these can only be collected by quoting every word ending in these syllables, or every passage in which the exceptions occur. Before these exceptions are enumerated, some other more or less general observations are made, providing for the elision of initial a. Initial a, according to Sûtra 142, is to be elided if the preceding word is vah, and if this vah is preceded by â, na, pra, kva, kitrah, savitâ, eva, or kah. There is, of course, no intelligible reason why, if these words precede vah, the next a should be elided. It is a mere statement of facts, and, generally speaking, these statements are minutely accurate. There is probably no verse in the whole of the Rig-veda where an initial a after vah is elided, unless these very words precede, or unless some other observation has been made to provide for the elision of the a. For instance, in v. 25, 1, we find vah preceded by akkha, which is not among the words just mentioned, and here the Sanhitâ does not elide the a of agnim, which follows after vah. After all these more or less general observations as to the elision of an initial a are thus exhausted, the author of the Prâtisâkhya descends into particulars, and gives lists, first, of words the initial a of which is always elided; secondly, of words which, if preceding, require under

all circumstances the elision of the initial a of the next word, whatever may have been said to the contrary in the preceding Sûtras. Afterwards, he gives a number of passages which defy all rules, and must be given on their own merits, and as they stand in the Sanhitâ. Lastly, follow special exceptions to the more or less general rules given before. And here, among these special exceptions, we see that the author of the Prâti*s*âkhya finds it necessary to quote a passage from a Vâlakhilya hymn in which hetáya*h* occurs, i.e. a word ending in aya*h*, and where, in defiance of Sûtra 149, which required the elision of a following initial a under all circumstances (sarvathâ), the initial a of asya is not elided; viii. 50, 2, Sanhitâ, *s*atấnîkâ hetáyo asya. It might be objected that the Prâti*s*âkhya only quotes hetáya*h* as an exceptional word, and does not refer directly to the verse in the Vâlakhilya hymn. But fortunately hetáya*h* occurs but twice in the whole of the Rig-veda; and in the other passage where it occurs, i. 190, 4, neither the rule nor the exception as to the elision of an initial a, could apply. The author of the Prâti*s*âkhya therefore makes no distinction between the Vâlakhilya and any other hymns of the Rig-veda, and he would have considered his phonetic statistics equally at fault, if it had been possible to quote one single passage from the hymns viii. 49 to 59, as contravening his observations, as if such passages had been alleged from the hymns of Vasish*th*a or Vi*s*vâmitra.

It would lead me too far, were I to enter here into similar cases in support of the fact that the Prâtisâkhya makes no distinction between the Vâlakhilya and any other hymns of the Rig-veda-sanhitâ*. But I doubt whether the bearing of this fact has ever been fully realised. Here we see that the absence of the elision of a short a which follows after a word ending in aya*h*, was considered of sufficient importance to be recorded in a special rule, because in most cases the Sanhitâ elides an initial a, if preceded by a word ending in aya*h*. What does this prove? It proves, unless all our views on the chronology of Vedic literature are wrong, that in the fifth century B.C. at least, or previously rather to the time when the Prâtisâkhya was composed, both the Pada and the Sanhitâ texts were so firmly settled that it was impossible, for the sake of uniformity or regularity, to omit one single short a; and it proves *à fortiori*, that the hymn in which that irregular short a occurs, formed at that time part of the Vedic canon. I confess I feel sometimes frightened by the stringency of this argument, and I should like to see a possibility by which we could explain the addition, not of the Vâlakhilya hymns only, but of other much more modern sounding hymns, at a later time than the period of the Prâtisâkhyas. But until that possi-

* The Prâtisâkhya takes into account both the *S*âkala and Bâshkala sâkhâs, as may be seen from Sûtra 1057.

bility is shown, we must abide by our own conclusions; and then I ask, who is the critic who would dare to tamper with a canon of scripture of which every iota was settled before the time of Cyrus, and which we possess in exactly that form in which it is described to us by the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas? I say again, that I am not free from misgivings on the subject, and my critical conscience would be far better satisfied if we could ascribe the Prâtisâkhya and all it presupposes to a much later date. But until that is done, the fact remains that the two divergent texts, the Pada and Sanhitâ, which we now possess, existed, as we now possess them, previous to the time of the Prâtisâkhya: they have not diverged nor varied since, and the vertex to which they point, starting from the distance of the two texts as measured by the Prâtisâkhya, carries us back far beyond the time of Saunaka, if we wish to determine the date of the first authorised collection of the hymns, both in their Pada and in their Sanhitâ form.

Instances abound, if we compare the Pada and Sanhitâ texts, where, if uniformity between the two texts had been the object of the scholars of the ancient Parishads, the lengthening or shortening of a vowel would at once have removed the apparent discordance between the two traditional texts. Nor should it be supposed that such minute discordances between the two, as the length or shortness of a vowel, were always rendered necessary by the

requirements of the metre, and that for that reason the ancient students or the later copyists of the Veda abstained from altering the peculiar spelling of words, which seemed required by the exigencies of the metre in the Sanhitâ text, but not in the Pada text. Though this may be true in some cases, it is not so in all. There are short vowels in the Sanhitâ where, according to grammar, we expect long vowels, and where, according to metre, there was no necessity for shortening them. Yet in these very places all the MSS. of the Sanhitâ text give the irregular short, and all the MSS. of the Pada text the regular long vowel, and the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas bear witness that the same minute difference existed at their own time, nay, previous to their own time. In vii. 60, 12, the Sanhitâ text gives:

iyám deva puróhitir yuvábhyâm yagñéshu mitrâvarunâv akâri.

This primacy, O (two) gods, was made for you two, O Mitra and Varuna, at the sacrifices!

Here it is quite clear that deva is meant for a dual, and ought to have been devâ or devau. The metre does not require a short syllable, and yet all the Sanhitâ MSS. read devă, and all the Pada MSS. read devâ; and what is more important, the authors of the Prâtisâkhya had to register this small divergence of the two texts, which existed in their time as it exists in our own *.

* See Prâtisâkhya, Sûtra 309 seq., where several more instances of the same kind are given.

Nor let it be supposed, that the writers of our MSS. were so careful and so conscientious that they would, when copying MSS., regulate every consonant or vowel according to the rules of the Prâtisâkhya. This is by no means the case. The writers of Vedic MSS. are on the whole more accurate than the writers of other MSS., but their learning does not seem to extend to a knowledge of the minute rules of the Prâtisâkhya, and they will commit occasionally the very mistakes against which they are warned by the Prâtisâkhya. Thus the Prâtisâkhya (Sûtra 799) warns the students against a common mistake of changing vaiyasva into vayyasva, i. e. by changing ai to a, and doubling the semivowel y. But this very mistake occurs in S. 2, and another MS. gives vaiyyasva. See p. xlvii.

If these arguments are sound, if nothing can be said against the critical principles by which I have been guided in editing the text of the Rig-veda, if the fourfold check, described above, fulfils every requirement that could be made for restoring that text which was known to Sâyana, and which was known, probably 2000 years earlier, to the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas, what can be the motives, it may fairly be asked, of those who clamour for a new and more critical edition, and who imagine that the *editio princeps* of the Rig-veda will share the fate of most of the *editiones principes* of the Greek and Roman classics, and be supplanted by new editions founded on the col-

lation of other MSS.? No one could have rejoiced more sincerely than I did at the publication of the Romanised transliteration of the Rig-veda, carried out with so much patience and accuracy by Professor Aufrecht. It showed that there was a growing interest in this, the only true Veda; it showed that even those who could not read Sanskrit in the original Devanâgarî, wished to have access to the original text of these ancient hymns; it showed that the study of the Veda had a future before it like no other book of Sanskrit literature. My learned friend Professor Aufrecht has been most unfairly charged with having printed this Romanised text *me insciente vel invito.* My edition of the Rig-veda is *publici juris,* like any edition of Homer or Plato, and anybody might have reprinted it either in Roman or Devanâgarî letters. But far from keeping me in ignorance of his useful enterprise, Professor Aufrecht applied to me for the loan of the MSS. of the two Ma*nd*alas which I had not yet published, and I lent them to him most gladly because, by seeing them printed at once, I felt far less guilty in delaying the publication of the last volumes of my edition of the text and commentary. Nor could anything have been more honourable than the way in which Professor Aufrecht speaks of the true relation of his Romanised text to my edition. That there are misprints, and I, speaking for myself, ought to say mistakes also, in my edition of the Rig-veda, I

know but too well; and if Professor Aufrecht, after carefully transcribing every word, could honestly say that their number is small, I doubt whether other scholars will be able to prove that their number is large. I believe I may with the same honesty return Professor Aufrecht's compliment, and considering the great difficulty of avoiding misprints in Romanised transcripts, I have always thought and I have always said that his reprint of the hymns of the Veda is remarkably correct and accurate. What, however, I must protest against, and what, I feel sure, Professor Aufrecht himself would equally protest against, is the supposition, and more than supposition of certain scholars, that wherever his Latin transcript varies from my own Devanâgarî text, Professor Aufrecht is right, and I am wrong, that his various readings rest on the authority of new MSS., and constitute in fact a new recension of the Vedic hymns. Against this supposition I must protest most strongly, not for my own sake, but for the sake of the old book, and, still more, for the sake of the truth. No doubt it is natural to suppose that where a later edition differs from a former edition, it does so intentionally; and I do not complain of those who, without being able to have recourse to MSS. in order to test the authority of various readings, concluded that wherever the new text differed from the old, it was because the old text was at fault. In order to satisfy my own conscience on this point, I have collated a

number of passages where Professor Aufrecht's text differs from my own, and I feel satisfied that in the vast majority of cases, I am right and he is wrong, and that his variations do not rest on the authority of MSS. I must not shrink from the duty of making good this assertion, and I therefore proceed to an examination of such passages as have occurred to me on occasionally referring to his text, pointing out the readings both where he is right, and where he is wrong. The differences between the two texts may appear trifling, but I shall not avail myself of that plea. On the contrary, I quite agree with those scholars who hold that in truly critical scholarship there is nothing trifling. Besides, it is in the nature of the case that what may, by a stretch of the word, be called various readings in the Veda, must be confined to single letters or accents, and can but seldom extend to whole words, and never to whole sentences. I must therefore beg my readers to have patience while I endeavour to show that the text of the Rig-veda, as first published by me, though by no means faultless, was nevertheless not edited in so perfunctory a manner as some learned critics seem to suppose, and that it will not be easy to supplant it either by a collation of new MSS., such as are accessible at present, or by occasional references to the Prâtisâkhya.

I begin with some mistakes of my own, mistakes which I might have avoided, if I had always consulted the Prâtisâkhya, where single words or whole

passages of the Veda are quoted. Some of these mistakes have been removed by Professor Aufrecht, others appear in his transcript as they appear in my own edition.

I need hardly point out passages where palpable misprints in my edition have been repeated in Professor Aufrecht's text. I mean by palpable misprints, cases where a glance at the Pada text or at the Sanhitâ text or a reference to Sâyaṇa's commentary would show at once what was intended. Thus, for instance, in vi. 15, 3, vṛidhé, as I had printed in the Sanhitâ, was clearly a misprint for vṛidhó, as may be seen from the Pada, which gives vṛidhâḥ, and from Sâyaṇa. Here, though Professor Aufrecht repeats vṛidhé, I think it hardly necessary to show that the authority of the best MSS. (S. 2. alone contains a correction of vṛidhó to vṛidhé) is in favour of vṛidhâḥ, whatever we may think of the relative value of these two readings. One must be careful, however, in a text like that of the Vedic hymns, where the presence or absence of a single letter or accent begins to become the object of the most learned and painstaking discussions, not to claim too large an indulgence for misprints. A misprint in the Sanhitâ, if repeated in the Pada, or if admitted even in the commentary of Sâyaṇa, though it need not be put down to the editor's deplorable ignorance, becomes yet a serious matter, and I willingly take all the blame which is justly due for occasional accidents of this

character. Such are, for instance, ii. 12, 14, *sasa*-*mânám* instead of *sasamânâm*; i. 124, 4, *sudhyúvah*, in the Pada, instead of *sundhyúvah;* and the substitution in several places of a short u instead of a long û in such forms as *sûsávâma*, when occurring in the Pada; cf. i. 166, 14; 167, 9.

It is clear from Sûtra 819 and 163, 5, that the two words ûtí índra in iv. 29, 1, should not be joined together, but that in the Sanhitâ the hiatus should remain. Hence ûtíndra, as printed in my edition and repeated in Professor Aufrecht's, should be corrected, and the hiatus be preserved, as it is in the fourth verse of the same hymn, ûtí itthá. MSS. S. 1, S. 3. are right; in S. 2. the words are joined.

It follows from Sûtra 799 that to double the y in vaiyasva is a mistake, but a mistake which had to be pointed out and guarded against as early as the time of the Prâtisâkhya. In viii. 26, 11, therefore, vaiyyasvásya, as printed in my edition and repeated in Professor Aufrecht's, should be changed to vaiyasvásya. MSS. S. 1, S. 3. are right, likewise P. 1, P. 2; but S. 2. has the double mistake vayyasvásya, as described in the Prâtisâkhya; another MS. of Wilson's has vaiyy. The same applies to viii. 23, 24, and viii. 24, 23. P. 1. admits the mistaken spelling vayyasva.

Some corrections that ought to be made in the Padapâ*th*a only, as printed in my edition, are pointed out in a note to Sûtra 738 of the Prâtisâkhya. Thus,

according to Sûtra 583, 6, srûyā́*h* in the Pada text of ii. 10, 2, should be changed to *s*ruyā́*h*. MSS. P. 1, P. 2. have the short u.

In v. 7, 8, I had printed *s*ú*k*i*h* shma, leaving the a of shma short in accordance with the Prâti*s*âkhya, Sûtra 514, where a string of words is given before which sma must not be lengthened, and where under No. II. we find yásmai. Professor Aufrecht has altered this, and gives the â as long, which is wrong. The MSS. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the short a.

Another word before which sma ought not to be lengthened is mā́vate. Hence, according to Sûtra 514, 14, I ought not to have printed in vi. 65, 4, shmâ mā́vate, but shma mā́vate. Here Professor Aufrecht has retained the long â, which is wrong. MSS. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the short a.

It follows from Sûtra 499 that in i. 138, 4, we should not lengthen the vowel of sú. Hence, instead of asyā́ û shū́ *n*a úpa sâtáye, as printed in my edition and repeated by Professor Aufrecht, we should read asyā́ û shú *n*a úpa sâtáye. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have short u.

In vii. 31, 4, I had by mistake printed viddhí instead of viddhī́. The same reading is adopted by Professor Aufrecht (ii. p. 24), but the authority of the Prâti*s*âkhya, Sûtra 445, can hardly be overruled. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have viddhī́.

While in cases like these, the Prâti*s*âkhya is an authority which, as far as I can judge, ought to overrule the authority of every MS., however ancient,

we must in other cases depend either on the testimony of the best MSS. or be guided, in fixing on the right reading, by Sâya*n*a and the rules of grammar. I shall therefore, in cases where I cannot consider Professor Aufrecht's readings as authoritative improvements, have to give my reasons why I adhere to the readings which I had originally adopted.

In v. 9, 4, I had printed by mistake purú yó instead of purű yó. I had, however, corrected this misprint in my edition of the Prâtisâkhya, 393, 532. Professor Aufrecht decides in favour of purú with a short u, but against the authority of the MSS., S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, which have purű.

It was certainly a great mistake of mine, though it may seem more excusable in a Romanised transcript, that I did not follow the writers of the best MSS. in their use of the Avagraha, or, I should rather say, of that sign which, as far as the Veda is concerned, is very wrongly designated by the name of Avagraha. Avagraha, according to the Prâtisâkhya, never occurs in the Sanhitâ text, but is the name given to that halt, stoppage, or pause which in the Pada text separates the component parts of compound words. That pause has the length of one short vowel, i. e. one mâtrâ. Of course, nothing is said by the Prâtisâkhya as to how the pause should be represented graphically, but it is several times alluded to as of importance in the recitation and accentuation of the Veda. What we have been

in the habit of calling Avagraha is by the writers of certain MSS. of the Sanhitâ text used as the sign of the Viv*r*itti or hiatus. This hiatus, however, is very different from the Avagraha, for while the Avagraha has the length of one mâtrâ, the Viv*r*itti or hiatus has the length of ¼ mâtrâ, if the two vowels are short; of ½ mâtrâ, if either vowel is long; of ¾ mâtrâ, if both vowels are long. Now I have several times called attention to the fact that though this hiatus is marked in certain MSS. by the sign ઽ, I have in my edition omitted it, because I thought that the hiatus spoke for itself and did not require a sign to attract the attention of European readers; while, on the contrary, I have inserted that sign where MSS. hardly ever use it, viz. when a short initial a is elided after a final e or o; (see my remarks on pp. 36, 39, of my edition of the Prâtisâkhya.) Although I thought, and still think, that this use of the sign ઽ is more useful for practical purposes, yet I regret that, in this one particular, I should have deviated from the authority of the best MSS., and caused some misunderstandings on the part of those who have made use of my edition. If, for instance, I had placed the sign of the Viv*r*itti, the ઽ, in its proper place, or if, at least, I had not inserted it where, as we say, the initial a has been elided after e or o, Professor Bollensen would have seen at once that the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas fully agree with him in looking on this change, not as an elision, but as a contraction. If, as sometimes

happens, final o or e remain unchanged before initial short a, this is called the Pañ*k*âla and Prâ*k*ya padav*r*itti (Sûtra 137). If, on the contrary, final o or e become one (ekîbhavati) with the initial short a, this is called the Abhinihita sandhi (Sûtra 138). While the former, the hiatus of the Pañ*k*âla and Eastern schools, is marked by the writers of several MSS. by the sign ঽ, the Abhinihita sandhi, being a sandhi, is not marked by any sign*.

i. 3, 12. rấ*g*ati (Aufr. p. 2) instead of râ*g*ati (M. M. vol. i. p. 75) is wrong.

i. 7, 9. ya ékā*h* (Aufr. p. 5) should be yá éka*h* (M. M. vol. i. p. 110), because the relative pronoun is never without an accent. The relative particle yathâ may be without an accent, if it stands at the end of a pâda; and though there are exceptions to this rule, yet in viii. 21, 5, where Professor Aufrecht gives yáthâ, the MSS. are unanimous in favour of yathâ (M. M. vol. iv. p. 480). See Phi*t*-sûtra, ed. Kielhorn, p. 54.

i. 10, 11. â tû́ (Aufr. p. 7) should be ấ tû́ (M. M. vol. i. p. 139), because â is never without the accent.

i. 10, 12. *g*ûsh*t*ấ*h*, which Professor Aufrecht specially mentions as having no final Visarga in the Pada, has the Visarga in all the MSS., (Aufr. p. 7, M. M. vol. i. p. 140.)

---

* As to the system or want of system, according to which the Abhinihita sandhi takes place in the Sanhitâ, see p. xxxv seq.

i. 11, 4. kávir (Aufr. p. 7) should be kavír (M. M. vol. i. p. 143).

i. 22, 8. read râdhâmsi.

i. 40, 1 and 6. There is no excuse for the accent either on tvémahe or on vókema, while sákâñ in i. 51, 11, ought to have the accent on the first syllable.

i. 49, 3. Rosen was right in not eliding the a in divó ántebhyah. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. preserve the initial a, nor does the Prâtisâkhya anywhere provide for its suppression.

i. 54, 8. kshátram (Aufr. p. 46) is a mere misprint for kshatrám.

i. 55, 7. vandanasrúd (Aufr. p. 47) instead of vandanasrud (M. M. vol. i. p. 514) is wrong.

i. 57, 2. samâsíta instead of samásîta had been corrected in my reprint of the first Mandala, published at Leipzig. See Bollensen, Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 626.

i. 61, 7. read víshnuh; i. 64, 2. read súkayah; i. 64, 5. read dhûtayah.

i. 61, 16. Rosen had rightly printed hâriyogânâ with a long â both in the Sanhitâ and Pada texts, and I ought not to have given the short a instead. All the MSS., S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, P. 1, and P. 2, give the long â. Professor Aufrecht gives the short a in the Pada, which is wrong.

i. 67, 2 (4). vidántîm (M. M. vol. i. p. 594) is perfectly right, as far as the authority of the MSS. and of Sâyana is concerned, and should not have been altered to vindántîm (Aufr. p. 57).

i. 72, 2. read vatsám; i. 72, 6. read pasū́n̄; i. 76, 3. read dhákshy; i. 82, 1. read yadā́.

i. 83, 3. Rosen was right in giving ása*m*yatta*h*. I gave ásа*m*yata*h* on the authority of P. 1, but all the other MSS. have tt.

i. 84, 1. indra (Aufr. p. 68) cannot have the accent on the first syllable, because it does not stand at the beginning of a pâda (M. M. vol. i. p. 677). The same applies to índra, vi. 41, 4, (Aufr. p. 429) instead of indra (M. M. vol. iii. p. 734); to ágne, i. 140, 12, (Aufr. p. 130) instead of agne (M. M. vol. ii. p. 133). In iii. 36, 3, on the contrary, indra, being at the head of a pâda, ought to have the accent on the first syllable, índra (M. M. vol. ii. p. 855), not indra (Aufr. p. 249). The same mistake occurs again, iii. 36, 10, (Aufr. p. 250); iv. 32, 7, (Aufr. p. 305); iv. 32, 12, (Aufr. p. 305); viii. 3, 12, (Aufr. ii. p. 86). In v. 61, 1, nara*h* should have no accent; whereas in vii. 91, 3, it should have the accent on the first syllable. In viii. 8, 19, vipanyû should have no accent, and Professor Aufrecht gives it correctly in the notes, where he has likewise very properly removed the Avagraha which I had inserted.

i. 88, 1. read yâta (M. M. vol. i. p. 708), not yâtha (Aufr. p. 72).

i. 90, 1. read *rig*unîtī́; i. 94, 11. read yavasā́do (M. M. vol. i. p. 766), not yayasā́do (Aufr. p. 80).

i. 118, 9. abhibhū́tim (Aufr. p. 105) instead of abhíbhûtim (M. M. vol. i. p. 957) cannot be right, considering that in all other passages abhíbhûti has the

accent on the second syllable. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the accent on the i.

i. 128, 4. ghritasrîr (Aufr. p. 117) instead of ghritasrîr (M. M. vol. ii. p. 52) is wrong.

i. 144, 2. read párîvritâh (M. M. vol. ii. p. 155) instead of parîvritâh (Aufr. p. 133).

i. 145, 5. Professor Aufrecht (p. 134) gives upamasyâm, both in the Sanhitâ and Pada texts, as having the accent on the last syllable. I had placed the accent on the penultimate, (Pada, upa-másyâm, vol. ii. p. 161,) and whatever may be the reading of other MSS., this is the only possible accentuation. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the right accent.

i. 148, 4. pûrûni (Aufr. p. 136) instead of purûni (M. M. vol. ii. p. 170) does not rest, as far as I know, on the authority of any MSS. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have purûni.

i. 151, 7. gakkhatho (Aufr. p. 137) should be gákkhatho (M. M. vol. ii. p. 181).

i. 161, 12. All the Pada MSS. read prá ábravît, separating the two words and accentuating each. Though the accent is irregular, yet, considering the peculiar construction of the verse, in which prá and pró are used as adverbs rather than as prepositions, I should not venture with Professor Aufrecht (p. 144) to write prá abravît.

i. 163, 11. dhrágîman (Aufr. p. 147) instead of dhrágîmân (M. M. vol. ii. p. 245) is wrong.

i. 163, 13. gamyâ (Aufr. p. 148) instead of gamyâ (M. M. vol. ii. p. 246) is wrong.

i. 164, 17. read párena (M. M. vol. ii. p. 259) instead of paréna (Aufr. p. 149).

i. 164, 38. The first *k*ikyúh ought to have the accent, and has it in all the MSS., (Aufr. p. 151, M. M. vol. ii. p. 278.)

i. 165, 5. A mere change of accent may seem a small matter, yet it is frequently of the highest importance in the interpretation of the Veda. Thus in i. 165, 5, I had, in accordance with the MSS. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, printed étân (vol. ii. p. 293) with the accent on the first syllable. Professor Aufrecht alters this into etấn (p. 153), which, no doubt, would be the right form, if it were intended for the accusative plural of the pronoun, but not if it is meant, as it is here, for the accusative plural of éta, the speckled deer of the Maruts.

i. 165, 15. yâsish*t*a (Aufr. p. 154) instead of yâsîsh*t*a (M. M. vol. ii. p. 298) is not supported by any MSS.

i. 169, 7, instead of patayánta (Aufr. p. 158), read patáyanta (M. M. vol. ii. p. 322).

i. 174, 7. kúyâvâ*k*am (Aufr. p. 162) should be kúya-vâ*k*am (M. M. vol. ii. p. 340).

i. 177, 1. yuktấ, which I had adopted from MS. S. 3 (prima manu), is not supported by other MSS., though P. 2. reads yuttkấ. Professor Aufrecht, who had retained yuktấ in the text, has afterwards corrected it to yuktvấ, and in this he was right. In i. 177, 2, gâhi for yâhi is wrong.

i. 188, 4. astri*n*an (Aufr. p. 171) instead of ast*r*i*n*an (M. M. vol. ii. p. 395) can only be a misprint.

ii. 29, 6. kártâd (Aufr. p. 203) instead of kartấd (M. M. vol. ii. p. 560) is wrong.

ii. 40, 4. *k*akra (Aufr. p. 214) instead of *k*akrá (M. M. vol. ii. p. 614) is wrong.

iii. 7, 7. gu*h* (Aufr. p. 226) instead of gú*h* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 666) is wrong; likewise iii. 30, 10. gâ*h* (Aufr. p. 241) instead of gấ*h* (M. M. vol. ii. p. 792).

iii. 17, 1. i*g*yate (Aufr. p. 232) instead of a*g*yate (M. M. vol. ii. p. 722) is impossible.

iii. 47, 1. Professor Aufrecht (p. 256) puts the nominative índro instead of the vocative indra, which I had given (vol. ii. p. 902). I doubt whether any MSS. support that change (S. 1, S. 2, S. 3. have indra), but it is clear that Sâya*n*a takes indra as a vocative, and likewise the Nirukta.

iii. 50, 2. Professor Aufrecht (p. 258) gives asya, both in the Sanhitâ and Pada, without the accent on the last syllable. But all the MSS. that I know (S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, P. 1, P. 2), give it with the accent on the last syllable (M. M. vol. ii. p. 912), and this no doubt is right. The same mistake occurs again in iii. 51, 10, (Aufr. p. 259); iv. 5, 11, (Aufr. p. 281); iv. 36, 2, (Aufr. p. 309); v. 12, 3, (Aufr. p. 337); while in viii. 103, 9, (Aufr. ii. p. 195) the MSS. consistently give asya as unaccented, whereas Professor Aufrecht, in this very passage, places the accent on the last syllable. On the same page (p. 259) amandan, in the Pada, is a misprint for ámandan.

iii. 53, 18. asi (Aufr. p. 262) instead of ási (M. M. vol. ii. p. 934) is wrong, because hí requires that the

accent should remain on ási. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, P. 1, P. 2. have ási.

iv. 4, 7. svá ā́yushe (Aufr. p. 279) instead of svá ā́yushi (M. M. vol. iii. p. 37) is not supported by any good MSS., nor required by the sense of the passage. S. 1, S. 2, S. 3, P. 1, P. 2. have ā́yushi.

iv. 5, 7. árupitam, in the Pada, (Aufr. p. 280) instead of ā́rupitam (M. M. vol. iii. p. 45) is right, as had been shown in the Prâtisâkhya, Sûtra 179, though by a misprint the long â of the Sanhitâ had been put in the place of the short a of the Pada.

iv. 5, 9. read gaúh (M. M. vol. iii. p. 46) instead of góh (Aufr. p. 281).

iv. 15, 2. yā́ti, with the accent on the first syllable, is supported by all MSS. against yâti (Aufr. p. 287). The same applies to yā́ti in iv. 29, 2, and to várante in iv. 31, 9.

iv. 18, 11. amî, without any accent (Aufr. p. 293), instead of amī́ (M. M. vol. iii. p. 105) is wrong, because amī́ is never unaccented.

iv. 21, 9. no, without an accent (Aufr. p. 296), instead of nó (M. M. vol. iii. p. 120) is wrong.

iv. 26, 3. átithigvam (Aufr. p. 300) instead of atithigvám (M. M. vol. iii. p. 140) and vi. 47, 22. átithigvasya (Aufr. p. 437) instead of atithigvásya (M. M. vol. iii. p. 776) are wrong, for atithigvá never occurs again except with the accent on the last syllable. The MSS. do not vary. Nor do they vary in the accentuation of kútsa: hence kutsám (Aufr. p. 300) should be kútsam (M. M. vol. iii. p. 139).

iv. 36, 6. Professor Aufrecht (p. 309) has altered the accent of ấvishu*h* into âvishú*h*, but the MSS. are unanimous in favour of ấvishu*h* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 181).

Again in iv. 41, 9, the MSS. support the accentuation of ágman (M. M. vol. iii. p. 200), while Professor Aufrecht (p. 313) has altered it to agman.

iv. 42, 9. ádâ*s*at, being preceded by hí, ought to have the accent; (Aufrecht, p. 314, has adâ*s*at without the accent.) For the same reason, v. 29, 3, ávindat (M. M. vol. iii. p. 342) ought not to have been altered to avindat (Aufr. p. 344).

iv. 50, 4. vyóman is a misprint for vyòman.

v. 15, 5. Professor Aufrecht (p. 338) writes dîrghám instead of dógham (M. M. vol. iii. p. 314). This, no doubt, was done intentionally, and not by accident, as we see from the change of accent. But dógham, though it occurs but once, is supported in this place by all the best MSS., and has been accepted by Professor Roth in his Dictionary.

v. 34, 4. práyàto (Aufr. p. 351) instead of práyatâ (M. M. vol. iii. p. 371) is wrong.

v. 42, 9. visármâ*n*am (Aufr. p. 358) instead of visarmấ*n*am (M. M. vol. iii. p. 402) is wrong.

v. 44, 4. parva*n*é (Aufr. p. 360) instead of prava*n*é (M. M. vol. iii. p. 415) is wrong.

v. 83, 4. vânti (Aufr. p. 389) instead of vấnti (M. M. vol. iii. p. 554) is supported by no MSS.

v. 85, 6. âsíñ*k*antî*h* (Aufr. p. 391) instead of âsiñ*k*ántî*h* (M. M. vol. iii. p. 560) is not supported

either by MSS. or by grammar, as siñ*k* belongs to the Tud-class. On the same grounds ishấyanta*h*, vi. 16, 27 (M. M. vol. iii. p. 638), ought not to have been changed to ishayánta*h* (Aufr. p. 408), nor vi. 24, 7, avakars*á*yanti (M. M. vol. iii. p. 687) into avakárs*a*yanti (Aufr. p. 418).

vi. 46, 10. read girva*n*as (M. M. vol. iii. p. 763) instead of gírva*n*as (Aufr. p. 435).

vi. 60, 10. k*r*i*n*oti (Aufr. p. 450) instead of k*r*i*n*óti (M. M. vol. iii. p. 839) is wrong.

vii. 40, 4. aryamấ ấpa*h* (Aufr. ii. p. 35), in the Pada, instead of aryamấ ápa*h* (M. M. vol. iv. p. 81) is wrong.

vii. 51, 1. âdityânấm (Aufr. ii. p. 40) instead of âdityấnâm (M. M. vol. iv. p. 103) is wrong.

vii. 64, 2. i*l*ấm (Aufr. ii. p. 50) instead of í*l*âm (M. M. vol. iv. p. 146) is wrong. In the same verse gopâ*h* in the Pada should be changed in my edition to gopâ.

vii. 66, 5. yó (Aufr. ii. p. 51) instead of yé (M. M. vol. iv. p. 151) is indeed supported by S. 3, but evidently untenable on account of atipíprati.

vii. 72, 3. In abudhran Professor Aufrecht has properly altered the wrong spelling abudhnan; and, as far as the authority of the best MSS. is concerned (S. 1, S. 2, S. 3), he is also right in putting a final ñ, although Professor Bollensen prefers the dental n; (Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 599.) The fact is that Vedic MSS. use the Anusvâra dot for final nasals before all class-letters, and leave it to us to interpret that dot according to the letter which

follows. Before I felt quite certain on this point, I have in several cases retained the dot, as given by the MSS., instead of changing it, as I ought to have done according to my system of writing Devanâgarî, into the corresponding nasal, provided it represents an original n. In i. 71, 1, S. 2, S. 3. have the dot in a*g*ushran, but S. 1. has dental n. In ix. 87, 5, as*r*igran has the dot; i.e. S. 1. has the dot, and n*kh*, dental n joined to *kh*; S. 2. has n*kh* without the dot before the n; S. 3. has the dot, and then *kh*. In iv. 24, 6, the spelling of the Sanhitâ ávivena*m* tâm would leave it doubtful whether we ought to read ávivenan tâm or ávivenam tâm; S. 1. and S. 3. read ávivena*m* tâ*m*, but S. 2. has ávivenan tâm; P. 2. has ávi-venan tâm, and P. 1. had the same originally, though a later hand changed it to ávi-vena*m* tâ*m*. In iv. 25, 3, on the contrary, S. 1. and S. 3. write ávivena*m*; S. 2. ávivenam; P. 1. and P. 2. ávi-vena*m*. What is intended is clear enough, viz. ávi-venan in iv. 24, 6; ávi-venam in iv. 25, 3.

vii. 73, 1. a*s*vinâ (Aufr. ii. p. 56) instead of a*s*vínâ (M. M. vol. iv. p. 176) is wrong. On the same page, dhísh*n*ye, vii. 72, 3, should have the accent on the first syllable.

vii. 77, 1. In this verse, which has been so often discussed (see Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 472; Boehtlingk and Roth, Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 968; Bollensen, Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 463), all the MSS. which I know, read *k*arâyai, and not either *k*arâthai nor *g*arâyai.

viii. 2, 29. kîrí*n*am (Aufr. ii. p. 84) instead of kârí*n*am (M. M. vol. iv. p. 308) does not rest on the authority of any MSS., nor is it supported by Sâya*n*a.

viii. 9, 9. Professor Aufrecht has altered the very important form â*k*u*k*yuvîmáhi (M. M. vol. iv. p. 389) to â*k*u*k*yavîmáhi (ii. p. 98). The question is whether this was done intentionally and on the authority of any MSS. My own MSS. support the form â*k*u*k*yu-vîmáhi, and I see that Professor Roth accepts this form.

viii. 32, 14. âyántâram (Aufr. ii. p. 129) instead of âyantấram (M. M. vol. iv. p. 567) is wrong.

viii. 47, 15. dushvápnyam (Aufr. ii. p. 150) is not so correct as du*h*shvápnyam (M. M. vol. iv. p. 660), or, better, dushshvápnyam (Prâtisâkhya, Sûtras 255 and 364), though it is perfectly true that the MSS. write dushvápnyam.

In the ninth and tenth Ma*nd*alas I have not to defend myself, and I need not therefore give a list of the passages where I think that Professor Aufrecht's text is not supported by the best MSS. My own edition of these Ma*nd*alas will soon be published, and I need hardly say that where it differs from Professor Aufrecht's text, I am prepared to show that I had the best authorities on my side.

Having said so much in vindication of the text of the Rig-veda as published by me, and in defence of my principles of criticism which seem to me so self-evident as hardly to deserve the name of *canones critici*, I feel bound at the same time both to

acknowledge some inaccuracies that have occurred in the index at the end of each volume, and to defend some entries in that index which have been challenged without sufficient cause.

It has been supposed that in the index at the end of my fourth volume, the seventeenth verse of the 34th hymn in the seventh Ma*nd*ala has been wrongly assigned to Ahi Budhnya, and that one half only of that verse should have been reserved for that deity. I do not deny that we should be justified in deriving that sense from the words of the Anukrama*n*ikâ, but I cannot admit that my own interpretation is untenable. As Sâya*n*a does not speak authoritatively on the subject, I followed the authority of Sha*d*guru*s*ishya. This commentator of the Anukrama*n*ikâ says: atra *k*a ab*g*âm ukthair ahim g*r*i*n*îsha ity ardhar*k*o 'b*g*anâmno devasya stuti*h;* mâ no 'hir budhnya ity ardhar*k*o 'hirbudhnyanâmno devasya *. Another commentator says: ab*g*âm ukthair ardhar*k*o 'hi*h;* uttaro mâ no 'hir ity ahir budhnya*h*. From this we learn that both commentators looked upon the Dvipadâs as ardhar*k*as or half-verses, and ascribed the whole of verse 16 to Ahir ab*g*â*h*, the whole of verse 17 to Ahir budhnya*h*. It will be seen from an accurate examination of Sâya*n*a's commentary on verse 17, that in the second interpretation of the second half of verse 17, he

* MS. Wilson 379 has, ardhar*k*o nâmano daivatasya, and in the margin 'hi. Ahirbudhnya seems to have been taken as one word.

labours to show that in this portion, too, Ahir budhnya*h* may be considered as the deity.

It is perfectly right to say that the words of the Anukrama*n*ikâ, ab*g*âm ahe*h*, signify that the verse beginning with ab*g*âm, belongs to Ahi. But there was no misprint in my index. It will be seen that Sha*d*guru*s*ishya goes even beyond me, and calls that deity simply Ab*g*a, leaving out Ahi altogether, as understood. I was anxious to show the distinction between Ab*g*â Ahi*h* and Ahir Budhnya*h*, as the deities of the two successive verses, and I did not expect that any reader could possibly misinterpret my entry.

With regard to hymns 91 and 92 of the seventh Ma*nd*ala, it is true, that in the index I did not mention that certain verses in which two deities are mentioned (91, 2; 4–7; 92, 2), must be considered as addressed not to Vâyu alone, but to Vâyu and Indra. It will be seen from Sâya*n*a's introduction to hymn 90, that he, too, wrongly limits the sentence of the Anukrama*n*ikâ, aindrya*s* *k*a yâ dvivaduktâ*h*, to the fifth and following verses of hymn 90, and that he never alludes to this proviso again in his introductory remarks to hymns 91 and 92, though, of course, he explains the verses, in which a dual occurs, as addressed to two deities, viz. Indra and Vâyu. The same omission, whether intentional or unintentional, occurs in Sha*d*guru*s*ishya's commentary. The other commentary, however, assigns the verses of the three hymns rightly. The subject has evidently been one

that excited attention in very early days, for in the Aitareya-brâhma*n*a, v. 20, we actually find that the word vâm which occurs in hymn 90, 1, and which might be taken as a dual, though Sâya*n*a explains it as a singular, is changed into te *.

In hymn vii. 104, rakshoha*n*au might certainly be added as an epithet of Indrâ-Somau, and Sha*d*guru*s*ishya clearly takes it in that sense. The Anukrama*n*ikâ says: indrâsomâ pañ*k*âdhikaindrâsoma*m* râkshoghna*m* *s*âpâbhi*s*âpaprâyam.

In hymn viii. 67, it has been supposed that the readings Samada and Sâmada instead of Sammada and Sâmmada were due to a misprint. This is not the case. That I was aware of the other spelling of this name, viz. Sammada and Sâmmada, I had shown in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (2nd ed.), p. 39, where I had translated the passage of the *S*âṅkhâyana-sûtras in which Matsya Sâmmada occurs, and had also called attention to the Â*s*valâyana-sûtras x. 7, and the *S*atapatha-brâhma*n*a xiii. 3, 1, 1, where the same passage is found. I there spelt the

---

* The interpunction of Dr. Haug's edition (p. 128) should be after te. Sha*d*guru*s*ishya says: ata eva brâhma*n*asûtrayo*h* praüge vâyavatvâya pra vîrayâ *s*u*k*ayo dadrire vâm iti dviva*k*anasthâne ta ity ekava*k*anapâ*th*a*h* krita*h*, vâm ity ukta*m* *k*ed aindratva*m* *k*a syâd iti. Possibly the same change should be made in Â*s*valâyana's Sûtras, viii. 11, and it has been made by the Râma Nârâya*n*a Vidyâratna. The remark of the commentator, however, dadrire ta iti prayogapâ*th*a*h*, looks as if vâm might have been retained in the text. The MSS. I have collated are in favour of te.

name Sâmmada, because the majority of the MSS. were in favour of that spelling. In the edition of the Âsvalâyana-sûtras, which has since been published by Râma Nârâyana Vidyâranya, the name is spelt Sâmada. My own opinion is that Sâmmada is the right spelling, but that does not prove that Sâyana thought so; and unless I deviated from the principles which I had adopted for a critical restoration of Sâyana's text, I could not but write Sâmada in our passage. B 1. and B 4. omit sâmada, but both give samadâkhyasya; Ca. gives likewise samadâkhyasya, and A. semadâkhyasya. This, I believe, was meant by the writer for sammadâkhyasya, for in the passage from the Anukramanî both A. and Ca. give sâmmado. I then consulted the commentary of Shadgurusishya, and there again the same MS. gave twice sâmmada, once sâmada, which is explained by samadâkhyamahâmînarâgaputrah. A better MS. of Shadgurusishya, MS. Wilson 379, gives the readings sâmmado, sâmmada, and sammadâkhyasya. The other commentary gives distinctly sâmanda.

It will be seen from these remarks that many things have to be considered before one can form an independent judgment as to the exact view adopted by Sâyana in places where he differs from other authorities, or as to the exact words in which he clothed his meaning. Such cases occur again and again. Thus in ix. 86, I find that Professor Aufrecht ascribes the first ten verses to the Akrishtas, whereas Sâyana calls them Âkrishtas.

It is perfectly true that the best MSS. of the Anukrama*n*ikâ have Ak*r*ish*t*a, it is equally true that the name of these Ak*r*ish*t*as is spelt with a short a in the Harivaṁsa, 11,533, but an editor of Sâya*n*a's work is not to alter the occasional mistakes of that learned commentator, and he certainly called these poets Âk*r*ish*t*as.

Verses 21–30 of the same hymn are ascribed by Professor Aufrecht to the P*r*isniya*h*. Here, again, several MSS. support that reading; and in Sha*d*gurusishya's commentary, the correction of p*r*isniya*h* into p*r*isnaya*h* is made by a later hand. But Sâya*n*a clearly took p*r*isnaya*h* for a nominative plural of p*r*isni, and in this case he certainly was right. The Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth quotes the Mahâbhârata, vii. 8728, in support of the peculiar reading of p*r*isniya*h*, but the published text gives p*r*isnaya*h*. Professor Benfey, in his list of poets (Ind. Stud. vol. iii. p. 223), gives p*r*isniyo*g*a as one word, not p*r*isniyogâ, as stated in the Dictionary of Boehtlingk and Roth, but this is evidently meant for two words, viz. p*r*isnayo '*g*â*h*. However, whether p*r*isniya*h* or p*r*isnaya*h* be the real name of these poets, an editor of Sâya*n*a is bound to give that reading of the name which Sâya*n*a believed to be the right one, i. e. p*r*isnaya*h*.

Again, in the same hymn, Professor Aufrecht ascribes verses 31–40 to the Atris. He evidently read t*r*itîye 'traya*h*. But Sâya*n*a read t*r*itîye traya*h*, and ascribes verses 31–40 to the three com-

panies together of the *R*ishis mentioned before. On this point the MSS. admit of no doubt, for we read: *k*aturthasya *k*a da*s*ar*k*asya âk*r*ish*t*â mâshâ ityâdi-dvinâmânas trayo ga*n*â drash*t*âra*h*. I do not say that the other explanation is wrong; I only say that, whether right or wrong, Sâya*n*a certainly read traya*h*, not atraya*h*, and that an editor has no more right to correct the text, supported by the best MSS., in the first and second, than in the third of these passages, all taken from one and the same hymn.

But though I insist so strongly on a strict observance of the rules of diplomatic criticism with regard to the text of the Rig-veda, nay, even of Sâya*n*a, I insist equally strongly on the right of independent criticism, which ought to begin where diplomatic criticism ends. Considering the startling antiquity which we can claim for every letter and accent of our MSS. so far as they are authenticated by the Prâti*s*âkhya, to say nothing of the passages of the hymns which are quoted verbatim in the Brâhma*n*as, the Kalpa-sûtras, the Nirukta, the B*r*ihaddevatâ, and the Anukrama*n*îs, I should deem it reckless to alter one single letter or one single accent in an edition of the hymns of the Rig-veda. As the text has been handed down to us, so it should remain; and whatever alterations and corrections we, the critical Mle*kkh*as of the nineteenth century, have to propose, should be kept distinct from that time-hallowed inheritance. Unlikely as it may sound, it is true never-

e 2

theless that we, the scholars of the nineteenth century, are able to point out mistakes in the text of the Rig-veda which escaped the attention of the most learned among the native scholars of the sixth century B. C. No doubt, these scholars, even if they had perceived such mistakes, would hardly have ventured to correct the text of their sacred writings. The authors of the Prâtisâkhya had before their eyes a text ready made, of which they registered every peculiarity, nay, in which they would note and preserve every single irregularity, even though it stood alone amidst hundreds of analogous cases. With us the case is different. Where we see a rule observed in 99 cases, we feel strongly tempted and sometimes justified in altering the 100th case in accordance with what we consider to be a general rule. Yet even then I feel convinced we ought not to do more than place our conjectural readings below the *textus receptus* of the Veda,—a text so ancient and venerable that no scholar of any historical tact or critical taste would venture to foist into it a conjectural reading, however plausible, nay, however undeniable.

There can be no clearer case of corruption in the traditional text of the Rig-veda than if in i. 70, 4, the Pada text reads:

vârdhân yám pûrvî́*h* kshapá*h* ví-rûpâ*h* sthâtú*h* *k*a ráthaṃ *r*itá-pravî̂tam.

All scholars who have touched on this verse, Professors Benfey, Bollensen, Roth, and others, have

pointed out that instead of *k*a ráthams, the original poet must have said *k*arátham. The phrase sthâtúh *k*arátham, what stands and moves, occurs several times. It is evidently an ancient phrase, and hence we can account for the preservation in it of the old termination of the nom. sing. of neuters in *ri*, which here, as in the Greek μάρ-τυρ or μάρ-τυς, masc., appears as ur or us, while in the ordinary Sanskrit we find *ri* only. This nom. sing. neut. in us, explains also the common genitives and ablatives, pitu*h*, mâtu*h*, &c., which stand for pitur-s, mâtur-s. This phrase sthâtúh *k*arátham occurs:

i. 58, 5. sthâtú*h* *k*arátham bhayate patatrí*n*a*h*.

What stands and what moves is afraid of Agni.

i. 68, 1. sthâtú*h* *k*arátham aktû́n ví û́r*n*ot.

He lighted up what stands and what moves during every night.

i. 72, 6. pas*û́*n *k*a sthât*r*î́n *k*arátham *k*a pâhi.

Protect the cattle, and what stands and moves!

Here it has been proposed to read sthâtú*h* instead of sthât*r*î́n, and I confess that this emendation is very plausible. One does not see how pasú, cattle, could be called *immobilia* or fixtures, unless the poet wished to make a distinction between cattle that are kept fastened in stables, and cattle that are allowed to roam about freely in the homestead. This distinction is alluded to, for instance, in the *S*atapatha-brâhma*n*a, xi. 8, 3, 2. saurya evaisha pa*s*u*h* syâd iti, tasmâd etasminn astamite pa*s*avo badhyante; badhnanty ekân yathâgosh*th*am, eka upasamâyanti.

i. 70, 2. gárbha*h* *k*a sthâtā́m gárbha*h* *k*arâthâm, (read sthâtrā́m, and see Bollensen, Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 462.)

He who is within all that stands and all that moves.

The word *k*arâtha, if it occurs by itself, means flock, movable property:

iii. 31, 15. ā́t ít sákhi-bhya*h* *k*arátham sám airat.

He brought together, for his friends, the flocks.

viii. 33, 8. puru-trā́ *k*arátham dadhe.

He bestowed flocks on many people.

x. 92, 13. prá na*h* pûshā́ *k*arátham—avatu.

May Pûshan protect our flock!

Another idiomatic phrase in which sthâtú*h* occurs is sthâtú*h* *g*ágata*h*, and here sthâtú*h* is really a genitive:

iv. 53, 6. *g*ágata*h* sthâtú*h* ubháyasya yá*h* vaśī́.

He who is lord of both, of what is movable and what is immovable.

vi. 50, 7. víśvasya sthâtú*h* *g*ágata*h* *g*ánitrî*h*.

They who created all that stands and moves.

vii. 60, 2. víśvasya sthâtú*h* *g*ágata*h* *k*a gopā́*h*.

The guardians of all that stands and moves. Cf. x. 63, 8.

i. 159, 3. sthâtú*h* *k*a satyám *g*ágata*h* *k*a dhárma*n*i putrásya pâtha*h* padám ádvayâvina*h*.

Truly while you uphold all that stands and moves, you protect the home of the guileless son. Cf. ii. 31, 5.

But although I have no doubt that in i. 70, 4,

the original poet said sthâtúh *k*arátham, I should be loath to suppress the evidence of the mistake and alter the Pada text from *k*a rátham to *k*arátham. The very mistake is instructive, as showing us the kind of misapprehension to which the collectors of the Vedic text were liable, and enabling us to judge how far the limits of conjectural criticism may safely be extended.

A still more extraordinary case of misunderstanding on the part of the original compilers of the Vedic texts, and likewise of the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas, the Niruktas, and other Vedic treatises, has been pointed out by Professor Kuhn. In an article of his, 'Zur ältesten Geschichte der Indogermanischen Völker' (Indische Studien, vol. i. p. 351), he made the following observation: 'The Lithuanian *laukas*, Lett. *lauks*, Pruss. *laukas*, all meaning field, agree exactly with the Sk. *lokas*, world, Lat. *locus*, Low Germ. (in East-Frisia and Oldenburg) *louch*, *lôch*, village. All these words are to be traced back to the Sk. *uru*, Gr. *εὐρύς*, broad, wide. The initial u is lost, as in Goth. *rûms*, O. H. G. *rûmi*, *rûmin* (Low Germ. *rûme*, an open uncultivated field in a forest), and the r changed into l. In support of this derivation it should be observed that in the Veda loka is frequently preceded by the particle u, which probably was only separated from it by the Diaskeuastæ, and that the meaning is that of open space.' Although this derivation has met with little favour, I confess that I look upon

this remark, excepting only the Latin *locus*, i. e. *stlocus*, as one of the most ingenious of this eminent scholar. The fact is that this particle u before loka is one of the most puzzling occurrences in the Veda. Professor Bollensen says that loka never occurs without a preceding u in the first eight Ma*nd*alas, and this is perfectly true with the exception of one passage which he has overlooked, viii. 100, 12. dyaú*h* dehí lokám vá*g*râya vi-skábhe, Dyu! give room for the lightning to step forth! Professor Bollensen (l. c. p. 603) reads v*ri*trấya instead of vá*g*râya, without authority. He is right in objecting to dyaús as a vocative, but dyaú*h* may be a genitive belonging to vá*g*râya, in which case we should translate, Make room for the lightning of Dyu to step forth!

But what is even more important, is the fact that the occurrence of this unaccented u at the beginning of a pâda is against the very rules, or, at least, runs counter to the very observations which the authors of the Prâtis*â*khya have made on the inadmissibility of an unaccented word in such a place, so that they had to insert a special provision exempting the unaccented u from this general observation: 'anudâttam tu pâdâdau nauvar*g*am vidyate padam,' 'no unaccented word is found at the beginning of a pâda except u!' Although I have frequently insisted on the fact that such statements of the Prâtis*â*khya are not to be considered as rules, but simply as more or

less general statistical accumulations of facts actually occurring in the Veda, I have also pointed out that we are at liberty to found on these collected facts inductive observations which may assume the character of real rules. Thus, in our case, we can well understand why there should be none, or, at least, very few instances, where an unaccented word begins a pâda. We should not begin a verse with an enclitic particle in any other language either; and as in Sanskrit a verb at the beginning of a pâda receives *ipso facto* the accent, and as the same applies to vocatives, no chance is left for an unaccented word in that place except it be a particle. But the one particle that offends against this general observation is u, and the very word before which this u causes this metrical offence is loka. Can any argument be more tempting in favour of admitting an old form uloka instead of u loka? Lokám is preceded by u in i. 93, 6; ii. 30, 6; (asmín bhayá-sthe k*r*i*n*utam u lokám, make room for us, grant an escape to us, in this danger!) iv. 17, 17; vi. 23, 3; 7 (with urúm); 47, 8 (urúm na*h* lokám, or ulokám?); 73, 2; vii. 20, 2; 33, 5 (with urúm); 60, 9 (with urúm); 84, 2 (with urúm); 99, 4 (with urúm); ix. 92, 5; x. 13, 2; 16, 4 (suk*r*ítâm u lokám); 30, 7; 104, 10; 180, 3 (with urúm). Loké is preceded by u in iii. 29, 8; v. 1, 6; loka-k*r*ít, ix. 86, 21; x. 133, 1. In all remaining passages u loká is found at the beginning of a pâda: loká*h*, iii. 37, 11; lokám, iii. 2, 9 (u lokám u dvé (íti) úpa *g*âmím îyatu*h*); v. 4, 11;

loka-k*r*itnúm, viii. 15, 4; ix. 2, 8. The only passages in which loka occurs without being preceded by u, are lokám, vi. 47, 8 (see above); viii. 100, 12; x. 14, 9; 85, 20 (am*r*ítasya); lokấ*h*, ix. 113, 9; lokấn, x. 90, 14; loké, ix. 113, 7[2]; x. 85, 24.

Considering all this, I feel as convinced as it is possible to be in such matters, that in all the passages where u loká occurs and where it means space, *carrière ouverte*, freedom, we ought to read uroká; but in spite of this I could never bring myself to insert this word, of which neither the authors of the Brâhma*n*as nor the writers of the Prâti*s*âkhyas or even later grammarians had any idea, into the text. On the contrary, I should here, too, consider it most useful to leave the traditional reading, and to add the corrections in the margin, in order that, if these conjectural emendations are in time considered as beyond the reach of doubt, they may be used as evidence in support of conjectures which, without such evidence, might seem intolerable in the eyes of timid critics.

There remains one difficulty about this hypothetical word uloká, which it is but fair to mention. If it is derived from uru, or, as Professor Bollensen suggests, from urva*k* or urvak, the change of va into o would require further support. Neither maghon for maghavan, nor duro*n*a for dura-va*n*a are strictly analogous cases, because in each we have an a preceding the va or u. Strictly speaking, uroka presupposes uravaka, as *s*lóka presupposes

bound, therefore, at the very beginning of my translation of the Rig-veda, to express my own opinion on this subject, and to give my reasons why in so many cases I allow metrical anomalies to remain which by some of the most learned and ingenious among Vedic scholars would be pronounced intolerable.

Even if the theory of the ancient metres had not been so carefully worked out by the authors of the Prâtis*â*khyas and the Anukrama*n*îs, an independent study of the Veda would have enabled us to discover the general rules by which the Vedic poets were guided in the composition of their works. Nor would it have been difficult to show how constantly these general principles are violated by the introduction of phonetic changes which in the later Sanskrit are called the euphonic changes of Sandhi, and according to which final vowels must be joined with initial vowels, and final consonants adapted to initial consonants, until at last each sentence becomes a continuous chain of closely linked syllables. It is far easier, as I remarked before, to discover the original and natural rhythm of the Vedic hymns by reading them in the Pada than in the Sanhitâ text, and after some practice our ear becomes sufficiently schooled to tell us at once how each line ought to be pronounced. We find, on the one hand, that the rules of Sandhi, instead of being generally binding, were treated by the Vedic poets as poetical licences only; and, on the other, that a greater

freedom of pronunciation was allowed even in the body of words than would be tolerated in the later Sanskrit. If a syllable was wanted to complete the metre, a semivowel might be pronounced as a vowel, many a long vowel might be protracted so as to count for two syllables, and short vowels might be inserted between certain consonants, of which no trace exists in the ordinary Sanskrit. If, on the contrary, there were too many syllables, then the rules of Sandhi were observed, or two short syllables contracted by rapid pronunciation into one; nay, in a few cases, a final m or s, it seems, might be omitted. It would be a mistake to suppose that the authors of the Prâtisâkhyas were not aware of this freedom allowed or required in the pronunciation of the Vedic hymns. Though they abstained from introducing into the text changes of pronunciation which even we ourselves would never tolerate, if inserted in the texts of Homer and Plautus, in the Pali verses of Buddha, or even in modern English poetry, the authors of the Prâtisâkhya were clearly aware that in many places one syllable had to be pronounced as two, or two as one. They were clearly aware that certain vowels, generally considered as long, had to be pronounced as short, but they did not change the text. They were clearly aware that in order to satisfy the demands of the metre, certain changes of pronunciation were indispensable. They knew it, but they did not change the text. And this shows that the text, as they

describe it, enjoyed even in their time a high authority, that they did not make it, but that, such as it is, with all its incongruities, it had been made before their time. In many cases, no doubt, certain syllables in the hymns of the Veda had been actually lengthened or shortened in the Sanhitâ text in accordance with the metre in which they are composed. But this was done by the poets themselves, or, at all events, it was not done by the authors of the Prâtisâkhya. They simply register such changes, but they do not enjoin them, and in this we, too, should follow their example. It is, therefore, a point of some importance in the critical restoration and proper pronunciation of Vedic texts, that in the rules which we have to follow in order to satisfy the demands of the metre, we should carefully distinguish between what is sanctioned by ancient authority, and what is the result of our own observations. This I shall now proceed to do.

First, then, the authors of the Prâtisâkhya distinctly admit that, in order to uphold the rules they have themselves laid down, certain syllables are to be pronounced as two syllables. We read in Sûtra 527: 'In a deficient pâda the right number is to be provided for by protraction of semivowels (which were originally vowels), and of contracted vowels (which were originally two independent vowels).' It is only by this process that the short syllable which has been lengthened in the Sanhitâ, viz. the sixth, or the eighth, or the tenth, can be shown

to have occupied and to occupy that place where alone, according to a former rule, a short syllable is liable to be lengthened. Thus we read:

i. 161, 11. ūdvātsvāsmâ ăkrĭnōtănâ trĭnām.

This would seem to be a verse of eleven syllables, in which the ninth syllable na has been lengthened. This, however, is against the system of the Prâti*s*âkhya. But if we protract the semivowel v in udvatsv, and change it back into u, which it was originally, then we gain one syllable, the whole verse has twelve syllables, na occupies the tenth place, and it now belongs to that class of cases which is included in a former Sûtra, 523.

The same applies to x. 103, 13, where we read:

pretâ *g*ăyătâ nărā*h*.

This is a verse of seven syllables, in which the fifth syllable is lengthened, without any authority. Let us protract pretâ by bringing it back to its original component elements pra itâ, and we get a verse of eight syllables, the sixth syllable now falls under the general observation, and is lengthened in the Sanhitâ accordingly.

The same rules are repeated in a later portion of the Prâti*s*âkhya. Here rules had been given as to the number of syllables of which certain metres consist, and it is added (Sûtras 972, 973) that where that number is deficient, it should be completed by protracting contracted vowels, and by separating consonantal groups in which semivowels

(originally vowels) occur, by means of their corresponding vowel.

The rules in both places are given in almost identically the same words, and the only difference between the two passages is this, that, according to the former, semivowels are simply changed back into their vowels, while, according to the latter, the semivowel remains, but is separated from the preceding consonant by its corresponding vowel.

These rules therefore show clearly that the authors of the Prâtis*â*khya, though they would have shrunk from altering one single letter of the authorised Sanhitâ, recognized the fact that where two vowels had been contracted into one, they might yet be pronounced as two; and where a vowel before another vowel had been changed into a semivowel, it might either be pronounced as a vowel, or as a semivowel preceded by its corresponding vowel. More than these two modifications, however, the Prâtis*â*khya does not allow, or, at least, does not distinctly sanction. The commentator indeed tries to show that by the wording of the Sûtras in both places, a third modification is sanctioned, viz. the vocalisation, in the body of a word, of semivowels which do not owe their origin to an original vowel. But in both places this interpretation is purely artificial. Some such rule ought to have been given, but it was not given by the authors of the Prâtis*â*khya. It ought to have been given, for it is only by observing such a rule that in i. 61, 12, gōr nă pā̆rvă̆ vĭ rădâ̄ tĭrā*skâ̄*, we get

a verse of eleven syllables, and thus secure for dâ in radâ the eighth place, where alone the short a could be lengthened. Yet we look in vain for a rule sanctioning the change of semivowels into vowels, except where the semivowels can rightly be called kshaipra-var*n*a (Sûtra 974), i. e. semivowels that were originally vowels. The independent (svâbhâvika) semivowels, as e. g. the v in parva, are not included; and to suppose that in Sûtra 527 these semivowels were indicated by var*n*a is impossible, particularly if we compare the similar wording of Sûtra 973 *.

We look in vain, too, in the Prâtisâkhya for another rule according to which long vowels, even if they do not owe their origin to the coalescence of two vowels, are liable to be protracted. However, this rule, too, though never distinctly sanctioned, is observed in the Prâtisâkhya, for unless its author observed it, he could not have obtained in the verses quoted by the Prâtisâkhya the number of syllables which he ascribes to them. According to Sûtra 937, the verse, Rv. x. 134, 1, is a Mahâpaṅkti, and consists of six

* It will be seen from my edition of the Prâti*s*âkhya, particularly from the extracts from Uva*t*a, given after Sûtra 973, that the idea of making two syllables out of go*h*, never entered Uva*t*a's mind. M. Regnier was right, Professor Kuhn (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 187) was wrong. Uva*t*a, no doubt, wishes to show that original (svâbhâvika) semivowels are liable to vyûha, or at least to vyavâya; but though this is true in fact, Uva*t*a does not succeed in his attempt to prove that the rules of the Prâti*s*âkhya sanction it.

pâdas, of eight syllables each. In order to obtain that number, we must read:

sāmrā*g*ām *k*ārshă*n*înâm.

We may therefore say that, without allowing any actual change in the received text of the Sanhitâ, the Prâti*s*âkhya distinctly allows a lengthened pronunciation of certain syllables, which in the Pada text form two syllables; and we may add that, by implication, it allows the same even in cases where the Pada text also gives but one instead of two syllables. Having this authority in our favour, I do not think that we use too much liberty if we extend this modified pronunciation, recognized in so many cases by the ancient scholars of India themselves, to other cases where it seems to us required as well, in order to satisfy the metrical rules of the Veda.

Secondly, I believe it can be proved that, if not the authors of the Prâti*s*âkhya, those at least who constituted the Vedic text which was current in the ancient schools and which we now have before us, were fully aware that certain long vowels and diphthongs could be used as short. The authors of the Prâti*s*âkhya remark that certain changes which can take place before a short syllable only, take place likewise before the word no, although the vowel of this 'no' is by them supposed to be long. After having stated in Sûtra 523 that the eighth syllable of hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, if short, is lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, they

remark that for this purpose na*h* or no is treated as a short syllable:

x. 59, 4. dyŭ-bhī*h* hĭtā*h* *g*ărĭmâ sŭ nâ*h* āstū, (Sanh. sû nŏ āstū.)

Again, in stating that the tenth syllable of hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, if short, is lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, the same exception is understood to be made in favour of na*h* or no, as a short syllable:

vii. 48, 4. nŭ dēvâsā*h* vărĭvā*h* kārtănă nā*h*, (Sanh. kārtănâ nŏ, bhûta na*h*, &c.)

With regard to e being shortened before a short a, where, according to rule, the a should be elided, we actually find that the Sanhitâ gives a instead of e in Rv. viii. 72, 5. véti stótave ambyãm, Sanh. véti stótava ambyãm. (Prâtis. 177, 5.)

I do not ascribe very much weight to the authority which we may derive from these observations with regard to our own treatment of the diphthongs e and o as either long or short in the Veda, yet in answer to those who are incredulous as to the fact that the vowels e and o could ever be short in Sanskrit, an appeal to the authority of those who constituted our text, and in constituting it clearly treated o as a short vowel, may not be without weight. We may also appeal to the fact that in Pâli and Prâk*r*it every final o and e can be treated as either long or short *. Starting from

* See Lassen, Inst. Linguæ Pracriticæ, pp. 145, 147, 151; Cowell, Vararu*k*i, Introduction, p. xvii.

this we may certainly extend this observation, as it has been extended by Professor Kuhn, but we must not extend it too far. It is quite clear that in the same verse e and o can be used both as long and short. I give the Sanhitâ text:

i. 84, 17. kă îshătē tū*g*yătē kō bĭbhâyā
kō mă*m*sătē sāntăm īndrā*m* kō āntī,
kās tōkâyă kă ĭbhâyōtă râyē
ădhĭ brăvāt tānvē kō *g*anâyā.

But although there can be no doubt that e and o, when final, or at the end of the first member of a compound, may be treated in the Veda as anceps, there is no evidence, I believe, to show that the same licence applies to a medial or initial e or o. In iv. 45, 5, we must scan

ūsrâ*h* *g*ărāntē prătĭ văstō*h* ā*s*vĭnâ,

ending the verse with an epitritus tertius instead of the usual dijambus *.

* See Professor Weber's pertinent remarks in Kuhn's Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 394. I do not think that in the verses adduced by Professor Kuhn, in which final o is considered by him as an iambus or trochee, this scanning is inevitable. Thus we may scan the Sanhitâ text:

i. 88, 2. rūkmō nă *k*ītră*h* svădhĭtīvân.
i. 141, 8. răthō nă yâtă*h* *s*ĭkvăbhī*h* k*r*ĭtō.
i. 174, 3. sī*m*hō nă dămĕ ăpâ*m*sĭ văstō*h*.
vi. 24, 3. ākshō nă *k*ăkrĭyō*h* *s*ŭră b*r*ĭhān.
x. 3, 1. ĭnō răgānn ărătī*h* sămīddhō.

This leaves but one of Professor Kuhn's examples (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 192) unexplained: i. 191, 1. kaṅkato na kaṅkato, where iva for na would remove the difficulty.

Thirdly, the fact that the initial short a, if following upon a word ending in o or e, is frequently not to be elided, is clearly recognized by the authors of the Prâtisâkhya (see p. xxxv). Nay, that they wished it to be pronounced even in passages where, in accordance with the requirements of the Prâtisâkhya, it had to disappear in the Sanhitâ text, we may conclude from Sûtra 978. It is there stated that no pâda should ever begin with a word that has no accent. The exceptions to this rule are few, and they are discussed in Sûtras 978–987. But if the initial a were not pronounced in i. 1, 9, sá*h* na*h* pitấ-iva sûnáve ágne su-upâyaná*h* bhava, the second pâda would begin with 'gne, a word which, after the elision of the initial a, would be a word without an accent.

Fourthly, the fact that other long vowels, besides e and o, may under certain circumstances be used as short in the Veda, is not merely a modern theory, but rests on no less an authority than Pâ*n*ini.

Pâ*n*ini says, vi. 1, 127, that i, u, *r*i (see Rv. Bh. iv. 1, 12) at the end of a pada (but not in a compound*)

* There are certain compounds in which, according to Professor Kuhn, two vowels have been contracted into one short vowel. This is certainly the opinion of Hindu grammarians, also of the compiler of the Pada text. But most of them would admit of another explanation. Thus dhánvar*n*asa*h*, which is divided into dhánva-ar*n*asa*h*, may be dhánu-ar*n*asa*h* (Rv. v. 45, 2). Dhánar*k*am, divided into dhána-ar*k*am, may have been dhána-*rik*am (Rv. x. 46, 5). *S*atár*k*asam (Rv. vii. 100, 3) may be taken as *s*atá-*rik*asam instead of *s*atá-ar*k*asam.

may remain unchanged, if a different vowel follows, and that, if long, they may be shortened. He ascribes this rule, or, more correctly, the first portion of it only, to *S*âkalya, Prâtisâkhya 155 seq.* Thus *k*akrî atra may become *k*akrĭ atra or *k*akry atra. Madhû atra may become madhŭ atra or madhv atra. In vi. 1, 128, Pâ*n*ini adds that a, i, u, *r*i may remain unchanged before *r*i, and, if long, may be shortened, and this again according to the teaching of *S*âkalya, i. e. Prâtisâkhya 136. Hence brahmâ *r*ishi*h* becomes brahmă *r*ishi*h* or brahmarshi*h*; kumârî *r*isyah becomes kumârĭ *r*isya*h* or kumâry *r*isya*h*. This rule enables us to explain a number of passages in which the Sanhitâ text either changes the final long vowel into a semivowel, or leaves it unchanged, when the vowel is a pragrihya vowel. To the first class belong such passages as i. 163, 12; iv. 38, 10. vâ*g*ī́ árvâ, Sanh. vâ*g*yárvâ; vi. 7, 3. vâ*g*ī́ agne, Sanh. vâ*g*yāgne; vi. 20, 13. pakthī́ arkai*h*, Sanh. pakthyārkai*h*; iv. 22, 4. *s*ushmī́ ā́ gó*h*, Sanh. *s*ushmyā́ gó*h*. In these passages ī is the termination of a nom. masc. of a stem ending in in. Secondly, iv. 24, 8. pátnî á*kkh*a, Sanh. pátnyá*kkh*a; iv. 34, 1. devī́ áhnâm, Sanh. devyáhnâm; v. 75, 4. vā́*n*ī*k*î ā́-hitâ, Sanh. vā́*n*ī*k*yā́hitâ; vi. 61, 4. avitrī́ avatu, Sanh. avitryāvatu. In these

* In the Prâtisâkhya the rule which allows vowel before vowel to remain unchanged, is restricted to special passages, and in some of them the two vowels are savar*n*a; cf. Sûtra 163.

passages the î is the termination of feminines. In x. 15, 4, ûtî́ arvā́k, Sanh. ûtyārvā́k, the final î of the instrumental ûtî ought not to have been changed into a semivowel, for, though not followed by íti, it is to be treated as pragrihya; (Prâtis. 163, 5.) It is, however, mentioned as an exception in Sûtra 174, 9. The same applies to ii. 3, 4. védî íti asyā́m, Sanh. védyasyā́m. The pragrihya î ought not to have been changed into a semivowel, but the fact that it had been changed irregularly, was again duly registered in Sûtra 174, 5. These two pragrihya î therefore, which have really to be pronounced short, were irregularly changed in the Sanhitâ into the semivowel; and as this semivowel, like all semivowels, may take vyavâya, the same object was attained as if it had been written by a short vowel. With regard to pragrihya û, no such indication is given by the Sanhitâ text; but in such passages as i. 46, 13. sambhû íti sam-bhû ā́ gatam, Sanh. sambhû ā́ gatam; v. 43, 4. bâhū́ íti ádrim, Sanh. bâhū́ ádrim, the pragrihya û of the dual can be used as short, like the û of madhû atra, given as an example by the commentators of Pânini.

To Professor Kuhn, I believe, belongs the merit of having extended this rule to final â. That the â of the dual may become short, was mentioned in the Prâtisâkhya, Sûtra 309, though in none of the passages there mentioned is there any metrical necessity for this shortening (see p. xli). This being the case, it is impossible to deny that where this â

is followed by a vowel, and where Sandhi between the two vowels is impossible, the final â *may* be treated as short. Whether it *must* be so treated, depends on the view which we take of the Vedic metres, and will have to be discussed hereafter. I agree with Professor Kuhn when he scans:

vi. 63, 1. kvă tyâ vālgû pŭrŭ-hūtă ādyā, (Sanh. puruhûtâdya); and not kvā tyâ vālgû pŭrŭhūtâdyā, although we might quote other verses as ending with an epitritus primus.

iv. 3, 13. mâ vēsāsyă pră-mĭnătāh mă āpēh, (Sanh. mâpeh,) although the dispondeus is possible.

i. 77, 1. kăthâ dâsēmă āgnăyē kă āsmāi, (Sanh. kâsmai.)

vi. 24, 5. āryāh văsāsyă părĭ-ētă āstĭ.

Even in a compound like tvâ-ûta, I should shorten the first vowel, e. g.

x. 148, 1. tmănâ tănâ sănŭyâmă tvă-ūtāh,

although the passage is not mentioned by the Prâtisâkhya among those where a short final vowel in the eighth place is not lengthened when a short syllable follows*.

But when we come to the second pâda of a Gâyatrî, and find there a long â, and that long â not followed by a vowel, I cannot agree with Professor Kuhn, that the long â, even under such

* I see that Professor Kuhn, vol. iv. p. 186, has anticipated this observation in eshtau, to be read ă-īshtāu.

circumstances, ought to be shortened. We may scan:

v. 5, 7. vâtāsyă pātmăn î*l*ĭtâ dāivyâ hōtârâ mănŭ-shā*h*.

The same choriambic ending occurs even in the last pâda of a Gâyatrî, and is perfectly free from objection at the end of the other pâdas.

So, again, we may admit the shortening of au to o in sâno avye and sâno avyaye, as quoted in the Prâti*s*âkhya, 174 and 177, but this would not justify the shortening of au to av in Anush*t*ubh verses, such as

v. 86, 5. mārtâyă dēvâū ădăbhâ,
ā*ms*â-ivă dēvâū ārvătē,

while, with regard to the Trish*t*ubh and *G*agatî verses, our views on these metres must naturally depend on the difficulties we meet with in carrying them out. On this more by and by.

There is no reason for shortening â in

v. 5, 10. dēvânâm gūhyâ nâmânī.

It is the second pâda of a Gâyatrî here; and we shall see that, even in the third pâda, four long syllables occur again and again.

For the same reason I cannot follow Dr. Kuhn in a number of other passages where, for the sake of the metre, he proposes to change a long â into a short one. Such passages are in the Pada text:

vi. 46, 11. dīdyăvā*h* tīgmă-mûrdhânā*h*, not mûr-dhănā*h*.

i. 15, 6. *r*ĭtŭnâ yā*g*ñăm âsâthē, not âsăthē.

v. 66, 2. sāmyăk ăsūryăm âsâtē, not âsătē.

v. 67, 1. vārshīsh*th*ām kshātrăm âsâthē, not âsăthē. See Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 122.

i. 46, 6. tâm āsmē râsâthâm ĭshām, not râsăthâm ĭshām.

iv. 32, 23. băbhrû yâmēshŭ *s*ōbhētē, not *s*ōbhĕtē.

iv. 45, 3. ŭtă prĭyām mădhŭnē yūñ*g*âthâm răthām, not yūñ*g*ăthâm răthām.

v. 74, 3. kăm ā*kkh*ă yūñ*g*âthē răthām, not yūñ*g*ăthē răthām.

iv. 55, 1. dyâvâbhûmî (íti) ădĭtē trâsîthâm nā*h*, not trâsĭthâm nā*h*.

v. 41, 1. *r*ĭtāsyă vâ sădăsĭ trâsîthâm nā*h*, not trâ-sĭthâm nā*h*.

I must enter the same protest against shortening other long vowels in the following verses which Professor Kuhn proposes to make metrically correct by this remedy:

i. 42, 6. hĭrā*n*yăvâ*s*îmāt-tămā, not vâ*s*ĭmāt-tămā.

Here the short syllable of ga*n*a*s*rî-bhi*h* in v. 60, 8, cannot be quoted as a precedent, for the i in ga*n*a*s*ri, walking in companies, was never long, and could therefore not be shortened. Still less can we quote nâri-bhya*h* as an instance of a long î being shortened, for nâri-bhya*h* is derived from nâri*h*, not from nârî, and occurs with a short i even when the metre requires a long syllable; i. 43, 6. n*r*ī-bhyā*h* nârī-

bhy̆ā*h* găvē. The fact is, that in the Rig-veda the forms nârîshu and nârî-bhya*h* never occur, but always nârishu, nâri-bhya*h;* while from vâ*s*î we never find any forms with short i, but always vâ*s*îshu, vâ*s*î-bhi*h*.

Nor is there any justification for change in i. 25, 16. gāvā*h* nă gāvyūtī*h* ănū, the second pâda of a Gâyatrî. Nor in v. 56, 3. *r*̄ikshā*h* nă vā*h* mărŭtā*h* *s*̆imī-vân ămā*h*. In most of the passages mentioned by Professor Kuhn on p. 122, this peculiarity may be observed, that the eighth syllable is short, or, at all events, may be short, when the ninth is long:

vi. 44, 21. v*r*̄ishnē tē īndū*h* v*r*̆ishăbhă ' pīpâyā.

i. 73, 1. sy̆ōnă-*s*ī*h* ătĭthī*h* nă ' prī*n*ânā*h*.

vii. 13, 1. bhărē hăvī*h* nă bārhĭshĭ ' prī*n*ânā*h*.

ii. 28, 7. ēnā*h* k*r*ī*n*vāntăm ăsŭră ' bhrī*n*āntī.

Before, however, we can settle the question whether in these and other places certain vowels should be pronounced as either long or short, we must settle the more general question, what authority we have for requiring a long or a short syllable in certain places of the Vedic metres. Now it has generally been supposed that the Prâti*s*âkhya teaches that there must be a long syllable in the eighth or tenth place of Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata, and in the sixth place of Ânush*t*ubha pâdas. This is not the case. The Prâti*s*âkhya, no doubt, says, that a short final vowel, but not any short syllable, occupying the eighth or tenth place in a Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata pâda, or the sixth

place in a Gâyatra pâda, is lengthened, but it never says that it *must* be lengthened; on the contrary, it gives itself a number of cases where it is not so lengthened. But, what is even more important, the Prâti*s*âkhya distinctly adds a proviso which shows that the ancient critics of the Veda did not consider the trochee as the only possible foot for the sixth and seventh syllables of Gâyatra, or for the eighth and ninth, or tenth and eleventh syllables of Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata pâdas. They distinctly admit that the seventh and the ninth and the eleventh syllables in such pâdas may be long, and that in that case the preceding short vowel is not lengthened. We thus get the iambus in the very place which is generally occupied by the trochee. According to the Prâti*s*âkhya, the general scheme for the Gâyatra would be, not only

6 7
\+ + + + | + – ◡ +,

but also

6 7
\+ + + + | + ◡ – +;

and for the Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata, not only

8 9
\+ + + + | + + + – | ◡ + + (+),

but also

8 9
\+ + + + | + + + ◡ | – + + (+).

And again, for the same pâdas, not only

10 11
\+ + + + | + + + + | + – ◡ (+),

but also

10 11
\+ + + + | + + + + | + ◡ – (+).

Before appealing, however, to the Prâti*s*âkhya for the establishment of such a rule as that the sixth syllable of Ânush*t*ubha and the eighth or tenth syllable of Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata pâdas must be lengthened, provided a short syllable follows, it is indispensable that we should have a clear appreciation of the real character of the Prâti*s*âkhya. If we carefully follow the thread which runs through these books, we shall soon perceive that, even with the proviso that a short syllable follows, the Prâti*s*âkhya never teaches that certain final vowels *must* be lengthened. The object of the Prâti*s*âkhya is, as I pointed out on a former occasion, to register all the facts which possess a phonetic interest. In doing this, all kinds of plans are adopted in order to bring as large a number of cases as possible under general categories. These categories are purely technical and external, and they never assume, with the authors of the Prâti*s*âkhya, the character of general rules. Let us now, after these preliminary remarks, return to the Sûtras 523 to 535, which we discussed before. The Prâti*s*âkhya simply says that certain syllables which are short in the Pada, if occupying a certain place in a verse, are lengthened in the Sanhitâ, provided a short syllable follows. This looks, no doubt, like a general rule which should be carried out under all circumstances. But this idea never entered the minds of the authors of the Prâti*s*âkhya. They only give this rule as the most convenient way of registering the lengthening of

certain syllables which have actually been lengthened in the text of the Sanhitâ, while they remain short in the Pada; and after having done this, they proceed to give a number of verses where the same rule might be supposed to apply, but where in the text of the Sanhitâ the short syllable has not been lengthened. After having given a long string of words which are short in the Pada and long in the Sanhitâ, and where no intelligible reason of their lengthening can be given, at least not by the authors of the Prâti*s*âkhya, the Prâti*s*âkhya adds in Sûtra 523, 'The final vowel of the eighth syllable is lengthened in pâdas of eleven and twelve syllables, provided a syllable follows which is short in the Sanhitâ.' As instances the commentator gives (Sanhitâ text):

i. 32, 4. tâdī́tnâ *s*átrum nă kī́la vivitse.

i. 94, 1. ágne sakhyé mấ rishâma vayám táva.

Then follows another rule (Sûtra 525) that 'The final vowel of the tenth syllable in pâdas of eleven and twelve syllables is lengthened, provided a syllable follows which is short in the Sanhitâ.' As instances the commentator gives:

iii. 54, 22. ắhâ ví*s*vâ sumắnâ dîdihi na*h*.

ii. 34, 9. ắvă rudrâ a*s*ắso hantana vắdha*h*.

Lastly, a rule is given (Sûtra 526) that 'The final vowel of the sixth syllable is lengthened in a pâda

of eight syllables, provided a syllable follows which is short:'

i. 5, 10. î̄sâ̄nō y̆ăv̆ây̆a vădhâ̄m.

If the seventh syllable is long no change takes place:

ix. 67, 30. â̄ p̆ăvāsvă dēvă sōmā.

While we ourselves should look upon these rules as founded in the nature of the metre, which, no doubt, to a certain extent they are, the authors of the Prâtisâkhya use them simply as convenient nets for catching as many cases as possible of lengthened syllables actually occurring in the text of the Sanhitâ. For this purpose, and in order to avoid giving a number of special rules, they add in this place an observation, very important to us as throwing light on the real pronunciation of the Vedic hymns at the time when our Sanhitâ text was finally settled, but with them again a mere expedient for enlarging the preceding rules, and thus catching more cases of lengthening at one haul. They say in Sûtra 527, that in order to get the right number of syllables in such verses, we must pronounce sometimes one syllable as two. Thus only can the lengthened syllable be got into one of the places required by the preceding Sûtra, viz. the sixth, the eighth, or the tenth place, and thus only can a large number of lengthened syllables be comprehended under the same general rule of the Prâtisâkhya. In all this we ourselves can easily

recognize a principle which guided the compilers of the Sanhitâ text, or the very authors of the hymns, in lengthening syllables which in the Pada text are short, and which were liable to be lengthened because they occupied certain places on which the stress of the metre would naturally fall. We also see quite clearly that these compilers, or those whose pronunciation they tried to perpetuate, must have pronounced certain syllables as two syllables, and we naturally consider that we have a right to try the same expedient in other cases where to us, though not to them, the metre seems deficient, and where it could be rendered perfect by pronouncing one syllable as two. Such thoughts, however, never entered the minds of the authors of the Prâti*s*âkhyas, who are satisfied with explaining what is, according to the authority of the Sanhitâ, and who never attempt to say what ought to be, even against the authority of the Sanhitâ. While in some cases they have ears to hear and to appreciate the natural flow of the poetical language of the *R*ishis, they seem at other times as deaf as the adder to the voice of the charmer.

A general rule, therefore, in our sense of the word, that the eighth syllable in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, the tenth syllable in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, and the sixth syllable in octosyllabics should be lengthened, rests in no sense on the authority of ancient grammarians. Even as a mere observation, they restrict it by the condition

that the next syllable must be short, in order to provoke the lengthening of the preceding syllable, thereby sanctioning, of course, many exceptions; and they then proceed to quote a number of cases where, in spite of all, the short syllable remains short*. In some of these quotations they are no doubt wrong, but in most of them their statement cannot be disputed.

As to the eighth syllable being short in hendecasyllabics and dodecasyllabics, they quote such verses as,

vi. 66, 4. ā̆ntā̆r (íti) sā̆ntă*h* ă̆vā̆dyâ̆nĭ pŭnâ̄nâ̄*h*.

Thus we see that in vi. 44, 9, vā̆rshī̆yă*h* vă̆yă̄*h* k*r*ĭ*n*ŭhĭ să*k*ī̆bhĭ*h*, hi remains short; while in vi. 25, 3, *g*ă̆hĭ v*r*ĭsh*n*yâ̆nĭ k*r*ĭ*n*ŭhī pă̆râ̄*k*ă̄*h*, it is lengthened in the Sanhitâ, the only difference being that in the second passage the accent is on hí.

As to the tenth syllable being short in a dodecasyllabic, they quote

ii. 27, 14. ă̆dĭtē mĭtră vă̆rŭ*n*ă ŭtă m*r*ĭ*l*ā.

* 'Wo die achtsilbigen Reihen mit herbeigezogen sind, ist es in der Regel bei solchen Liedern geschehen, die im Ganzen von der regelmässigen Form weniger abweichen, und für solche Fälle, wo auch das Prâti*s*âkhya die Längung der sechsten Silbe in achtsilbigen Reihen *vorschreibt*, nämlich wo die siebente von Natur kurz ist. Die achtsilbigen Reihen bedürfen einer erneuten Durchforschung, da es mehrfach schwer fällt, den Sanhitâtext mit der Vorschrift der Prâti*s*âkhya in Übereinstimmung zu bringen.' Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 450; and still more strongly, p. 458.

As to the tenth syllable being short in a hendeca-syllabic, they quote

ii. 20, 1. văyām tē văyă*h* īndră vīddhĭ sŭ nā*h*.

As to the sixth syllable being short in an octo-syllabic, they quote

viii. 23, 26. măhā*h* vī*s*vân ăbhĭ sătā*h*.

A large number of similar exceptions are collected from 528, 3 to 534, 94, and this does not include any cases where the ninth, the eleventh, or the seventh syllable is long, instead of being short, while it does include cases where the eighth syllable is long, though the ninth is not short, or, at least, is not short according to the views of the collectors of these passages. See Sûtra 522, 6.

Besides the cases mentioned by the Prâti*s*âkhya itself, where a short syllable, though occupying a place which would seem to require lengthening, remains short, there are many others which the Prâti*s*âkhya does not mention, because, from its point of view, there was no necessity for doing so. The Prâti*s*âkhya has been blamed* for omitting such cases as i. 93, 6. uru*m* ya*g*ñâya *k*akrathŭr u lokam; or i. 96, 1. devâ agnim dhârayan drăvi*n*odâm. But though occupying the eighth place, and though followed by a short syllable, these syllables could

* 'Dazu kommt, dass der uns vorliegende Sanhitâtext vielfältig gar nicht mit *S*aunaka's allgemeinen Regel übereinstimmt, in dem die Verlängerung *kurzer Silben* nicht unter den Bedingungen eingetreten ist, die er vorschreibt.' Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 459.

never fall under the general observation of the Prâtisâkhya, because that general observation refers to *final vowels* only, but not to short syllables in general. Similar cases are i. 107, 1[a]; 122, 9; 130, 10; 152, 6; 154, 1; 158, 5[a]; 163, 2; 167, 10[a]; 171, 4; 173, 6; 179, 1[a]; 182, 8[a]; 186, 6, &c.

If, therefore, we say that, happen what may, these metrical rules must be observed, and the text of the Veda altered in order to satisfy the requirements of these rules, we ought to know at all events that we do this on our own responsibility, and that we cannot shield ourselves behind the authority of *S*aunaka or Kâtyâyana. Now it is well known that Professor Kuhn* has laid down the rule that the Traish*t*ubha pâdas must end in a bacchius or amphibrachys ⏑ – ⏓, and the *G*âgata pâdas in a dijambus or pæon secundus ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓. With regard to Ânush*t*ubha pâdas, he requires the dijambus or pæon secundus ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ at the end of a whole verse only, allowing greater freedom in the formation of the preceding pâdas. In a later article, however, the final pâda, too, in Ânush*t*ubha metre is allowed greater freedom, and the rule, as above given, is strictly maintained with regard to the Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata pâdas only.

This subject is so important, and affects so large a number of passages in the Veda, that it requires the most careful examination. The Vedic metres,

* Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. iii. p. 118.

though at first sight very perplexing, are very simple, if reduced to their primary elements. The authors of the Prâtisâkhyas have elaborated a most complicated system. Counting the syllables in the most mechanical manner, they have assigned nearly a hundred names to every variety which they discovered in the hymns of the Rig-veda*. But they also observed that the constituent elements of all these metres were really but four, (Sûtras 988, 989):

1. The Gâyatra pâda, of eight syllables, ending in ⏑ –.
2. The Vairâ*g*a pâda, of ten syllables, ending in – –.
3. The Traish*t*ubha pâda, of eleven syllables, ending in – –.
4. The *G*âgata pâda, of twelve syllables, ending in ⏑ –.

Then follows an important rule, Sûtra 990: 'The penultimate syllable,' he says, 'in a Gâyatra and *G*âgata pâda is light (laghu), in a Vairâ*g*a and Traish*t*ubha pâda heavy (guru).' This is called their v*r*itta.

This word v*r*itta, which is generally translated by metre, had evidently originally a more special meaning. It meant the final rhythm, or if we take it literally, the turn of a line, for it is derived from v*r*it, to turn. Hence v*r*itta is the same word as the Latin *versus*, verse; but I do not wish to decide whether the connection between the two words is historical, or simply etymological. In Latin, *versus* is always supposed to have meant

* See Appendix to my edition of the Prâtisâkhya, p. ccclvi.

originally a furrow, then a line, then a verse. In Sanskrit the metaphor that led to the formation of v*r*itta, in the sense of final rhythm, has nothing to do with ploughing. If, as I have tried to prove (Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 84), the names assigned to metres and metrical language were derived from words originally referring to choregic movements, v*r*itta must have meant the turn, i.e. the last step of any given movement; and this turn, as determining the general character of the whole movement, would naturally be regulated by more severe rules, while greater freedom would be allowed for the rest.

Having touched on this subject, I may add another fact in support of my view. The words Trish*t*ubh and Anush*t*ubh, names for the most common metres, are generally derived from a root stubh, to praise. I believe they should be derived from a root stubh, which is preserved in Greek, not only in στυφελός, hard, στυφελίζω, to strike hard, but in the root στεμφ, from which στέμφυλον, stamped or pressed olives or grapes, and ἀστεμφής, untrodden (grapes), then unshaken; and in στέμβω, to shake, στοβέω, to scold, &c. In Sanskrit this root exists in a parallel form as stambh, lit. to stamp down, then to fix, to make firm, with which Bopp has compared the German *stampfen*, to stamp; (Glossarium, s. v. stambh.) I therefore look upon Trish*t*ubh as meaning originally *tripudium*, (supposing this word to be derived from *tri* and *pes*, according to

the expression in Horace, pepulisse ter pede terram, Hor. Od. iii. 18,) and I explain its name 'Three-step,' by the fact that the three last syllables ⏑ – ⏑, which form the characteristic feature of that metre, and may be called its real v*r*itta or turn, were audibly stamped at the end of each turn or strophe. I explain Anush*t*ubh, which consists of four equal pâdas, each of eight syllables, as the 'After-step,' because each line was stamped regularly after the other, possibly by two choruses, each side taking its turn. There is one passage in the Veda where Anush*t*ubh seems to have preserved this meaning:

x. 124, 9. anu-stúbham ánu *k*ar*k*ûryámâ*n*am índram ní *k*ikyu*h* kaváya*h* manîshấ.

Poets by their wisdom discovered Indra dancing to an Anush*t*ubh.

Other names of metres which point to a similar origin, i. e. to their original connection with dances, are Padapaṅkti, 'Step-row;' Nyaṅku-sâri*n*î, 'Roe-step;' Abhisâri*n*î, 'Contre-danse,' &c.

If now we return to the statement of the Prâti-sâkhya in reference to the v*r*ittas, we should observe how careful its author is in his language. He does not say that the penultimate is long or short, but he simply states, that, from a metrical point of view, it must be considered as light or heavy, which need not mean more than that it must be pronounced with or without stress. The fact that the author of the Prâtisâkhya uses these terms, laghu and guru, instead of hrasva, short, and dîrgha, long,

shows in fact that he was aware that the penultimate in these pâdas is not invariably long or short, though, from a metrical point of view, it is always heavy or light.

It is perfectly true that if we keep to these four pâdas, (to which one more pâda, viz. the half Vairâ*g*a, consisting of five syllables, might be added,) we can reduce nearly all the hymns of the Rig-veda to their simple elements which the ancient poets combined together, in general in a very simple way, but occasionally with greater freedom. The most important strophes, formed out of these pâdas, are,

1. Three Gâyatra pâdas = the Gâyatrî, (24 syllables.)
2. Four Gâyatra pâdas = the Anush*t*ubh, (32 syllables.)
3. Four Vairâ*g*a pâdas = the Virâ*g*, (40 syllables.)
4. Four Traish*t*ubha pâdas = the Trish*t*ubh, (44 syllables.)
5. Four *G*âgata pâdas = the *G*agatî, (48 syllables.)

Between the Gâyatrî and Anush*t*ubh strophes, another strophe may be formed, by mixture of Gâyatra and *G*âgata pâdas, consisting of 28 syllables, and commonly called Ush*n*ih; likewise between the Anush*t*ubh and the Virâ*g*, a strophe may be formed, consisting of 36 syllables, and commonly called B*r*ihatî.

In a collection of hymns, however, like that of the Rig-veda, where poems of different ages, different places, and different families have been put together, we must be prepared for exceptions to many rules. Thus, although the final turn of the

hendecasyllabic Traish*t*ubha is, as a rule, the bacchius, ⏑ – –, yet if we take, for instance, the 77th hymn of the tenth Ma*nd*ala, we clearly perceive another hendecasyllabic pâda of a totally different structure, and worked up into one of the most beautiful strophes by an ancient poet. Each line is divided into two halves, the first consisting of seven syllables, being an exact counterpart of the first member of a Saturnian verse (fato Romæ Metelli); the second a dijambus, answering boldly to the broken rhythm of the first member*. We have, in fact, a Trish*t*ubh where the turn or the three-step, ⏑ – –, instead of being at the end, stands in the middle of the line.

x. 77, 1–5, in the Pada text:

1. ābhrā-prŭshā*h* nă vâ*k*â prŭshā văsū,
 hăvĭshmāntā*h* nă ya*g*ñâ*h* vĭ-*g*ânŭshā*h* ı

* Professor Kuhn (vol. iii. p. 450) is inclined to admit the same metre as varying in certain hymns with ordinary Traish*t*ubha pâdas, but the evidence he brings forward is hardly sufficient. Even if we object to the endings ⏑ – ⏑ – and – – ⏑ –, v. 33, 4, may be a *G*âgata, with vyûha of dâsa, the remark quoted from the Prâti*s*âkhya being of no consequence on such points; and the same remedy would apply to v. 41, 5, with vyûha of eshe. In vi. 47, 31, vyûha of a*s*vapar*n*ai*h*; in i. 33, 9, vyûha of indra and rodasî; in ii. 24, 5, vyûha of mâdbhi*h* would produce the same effect; while in i. 121, 8, we must either admit the Traish*t*ubha v*r*itta – ⏑ – or scan dhūkshăn. In iii. 58, 6, I should admit vyûha for nărâ; in iv. 26, 6, for māndrăm; in i. 100, 8, for *g*yŏtī*h*, always supposing that we consider the ending – – ⏑ – incompatible with a Trish*t*ubh verse.

su-mârutam na brahmâ*n*am arhase,
ga*n*am astoshi eshâm na *s*obhase ‖
2. *s*riye maryâsa*h* añ*g*in akri*n*vata,
su-mârutam na pûrvî*h* ati kshapa*h* ।
diva*h* putrâsa*h* etâ*h* na yetire,
âdityâsa*h* te akrâ*h* na vav*r*idhu*h* ‖
3. pra ye diva*h* p*r*ithivyâ*h* na barha*n*â,
tmanâ riri*k*re abhrât na sûrya*h* ।
pâ*g*asvanta*h* na vîrâ*h* panasyava*h*,
ri*s*âdasa*h* na maryâ*h* abhi-dyava*h* ‖
4. yushmâkam budhne apâm na yâmani,
vithuryati na mahî *s*ratharyati ।
vi*s*va-psu*h* ya*g*ña*h* arvâk ayam su va*h*,
prayasvanta*h* na satrâ*k*a*h* â gata ‖
5. yûyam dhû*h*-su pra-yu*g*a*h* na ra*s*mi-bhi*h*,
*g*yotishmanta*h* na bhâsâ vi-ush*t*ishu ।
*s*yenâsa*h* na sva-ya*s*asa*h* ri*s*âdasa*h*,
pravâsa*h* na pra-sitâsa*h* pari-prusha*h* ‖

Another strophe, the nature of which has been totally misapprehended by native metricians, occurs in iv. 10. It is there called Padapaṅkti and Mahâ-padapaṅkti; nay, attempts have been made to treat it even as an Ush*n*ih, or as a kind of Gâyatrî. The real character of that strophe is so palpable that it is difficult to understand how it could have been mistaken. It consists of two lines, the first

embracing three or four feet of five syllables each, having the ictus on the first and the fourth syllables, and resembling the last line of a Sapphic verse. The second line is simply a Trishtubh. It is what we should call an asynartete strophe, and the contrast of the rhythm in the first and second lines is very effective. I am not certain whether Professor Bollensen, who has touched on this metre in an article just published (Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 572), shares this opinion. He has clearly seen that the division of the lines, as given in the MSS. of the Sanhitâ text, is wrong; but he seems inclined to admit the same rhythm throughout, and to treat the strophe as consisting of four lines of five syllables each, and one of six syllables, which last line is to submit to the prevailing rhythm of the preceding lines. If we differ, however, as to the internal architecture of this strophe, we agree in condemning the interpretation proposed by the Prâtisâkhya; and I should, in connection with this, like to call attention to two important facts: first, that the Sanhitâ text, in not changing, for instance, the final t of martât, betrays itself as clearly later than the elaboration of the ancient theory of metres, later than the invention of such a metre as the Padapankti; and secondly, that the accentuation, too, of the Sanhitâ is thus proved to be posterior to the establishment of these fanciful metrical divisions, and hence cannot throughout claim so irrefragable an authority as

certainly belongs to it in many cases. I give the Sanhitâ text:

1. Âgne tam adya ı asvam na stomaih ı kratum na bhadram,
   hridisprisam ridhyâmâ ta ohaih.
2. Adhâ hy agne ı krator bhadrasya ı dakshasya sâdhoh,
   rathîr ritasya brihato babhûtha.
3. Ebhir no arkair ı bhavâ no arvâṅ ı svar na gyotih,
   agne visvebhih sumanâ anîkaih.
4. Âbhish te adya ı gîrbhir grinanto ı agne dâsema,
   pra te divo na stanayanti sushmâh.
5. Tava svâdishthâ ı agne samdrishtir,
   idâ kid ahna ı idâ kid aktoh,
   sriye rukmo na rokata upâke.
6. Ghritam na pûtam ı tanûr arepâh ı suki hiranyam,
   tat te rukmo na rokata svadhâvah.
7. Kritam kid dhi shmâ ı sanemi dvesho ı agna inoshi,
   martâd itthâ yagamânâd ritâvah.
8. Sivâ nah sakhyâ ı santu bhrâtrâgne ı deveshu yushme,
   sâ no nâbhih sadane sasmin ûdhan.

Now it is perfectly true that, as a general rule, the syllables composing the vritta or turn of the different metres, and described by the Prâtisâkhya as heavy or light, are in reality long or short. The question, however, is this, have we a right, or are we obliged, in cases where that syllable is not either long or short, as it ought to be, so to alter the text, or so to change the rules of pro-

nunciation, that the penultimate may again be what we wish it to be?

If we begin with the Gâyatra pâda, we have not to read long before we find that it would be hopeless to try to crush the Gâyatrî verses of the Vedic *R*ishis on this Procrustean bed. Even Professor Kuhn very soon perceived that this was impossible. He had to admit that in the Gâyatrî the two first pâdas, at all events, were free from this rule, and though he tried to retain it for the third or final pâda, he was obliged after a time to give it up even there. Again, it is perfectly true, that in the third pâda of the Gâyatrî, and in the second and fourth pâdas of the Anush*t*ubh strophe, greater care is taken by the poets to secure a short syllable for the penultimate, but here, too, exceptions cannot be entirely removed. We have only to take such a single hymn as i. 27, and we shall see that it would be impossible to reduce it to the uniform standard of Gâyatrî pâdas, all ending in a dijambus. But what confirms me even more in my view that such strict uniformity must not be looked for in the ancient hymns of the *R*ishis, is the fact that in many cases it would be so very easy to replace the irregular by a regular dipodia. Supposing that the original poets had restricted themselves to the dijambus, who could have put in the place of that regular dijambus an irregular dipodia? Certainly not the authors of the Prâti*s*âkhya, for their ears had clearly discovered the

general rhythm of the ancient metres; nor their predecessors, for they had in many instances preserved the tradition of syllables lengthened in accordance with the requirements of the metre. I do not mean to insist too strongly on this argument, or to represent those who handed down the tradition of the Veda as endowed with anything like apaurusheyatva. Strange accidents have happened in the text of the Veda, but they have generally happened when the sense of the hymns had ceased to be understood; and if anything helped to preserve the Veda from greater accidents, it was due, I believe, to the very fact that the metre continued to be understood, and that oral tradition, however much it might fail in other respects, had at all events to satisfy the ears of the hearers. I should have been much less surprised if all irregularities in the metre had been smoothed down by the flux and reflux of oral tradition, a fact which is so apparent in the text of Homer, where the gaps occasioned by the loss of the digamma, were made good by the insertion of unmeaning particles; but I find it difficult to imagine by what class of men, who must have lived between the original poets and the age of the Prâtisâkhyas, the simple rhythm of the Vedic metres should have been disregarded, and the sense of rhythm, which ancient people possess in a far higher degree than we ourselves, been violated through crude and purposeless alterations. I shall give a few specimens only. What

but a regard for real antiquity could have induced people in viii. 2, 8, to preserve the defective foot of a Gâyatrî verse, samâne adhi bhârman? Any one acquainted with Sanskrit would naturally read samâne adhi bhârma*n*î. But who would have changed bhârma*n*i, if that had been there originally, to bhârman? I believe we must scan samâne adhi bhârman, or samâne adhi bhârman, the pæon tertius being a perfectly legitimate foot at the end of a Gâyatrî verse. In x. 158, 1, we can understand how an accident happened. The original poet may have said: Sûryo no divas pâtu pâtu vâto antarikshât, agnir na*h* pârthivebhya*h*. Here one of the two pâtu was lost. But if in the same hymn we find in the second verse two feet of nine instead of eight syllables each, I should not venture to alter this except in pronunciation, because no reason can be imagined why any one should have put these irregular lines in the place of regular ones.

In v. 41, 10, *grin*îte agnir etarî na *s*ûshai*h*, *sok*ishkeso ni ri*n*âti vanâ, every modern Pandit would naturally read vanâni instead of vanâ, in order to get the regular Trish*t*ubh metre. But this being the case, how can we imagine that even the most ignorant member of an ancient Parishad should wilfully have altered vanâni into vanâ? What surprises one is, that vanâ should have been spared, in spite of every temptation to change it into vanâni: for I cannot doubt for one moment that

vanâ is the right reading, only that the ancient poets pronounced it vănâ̆. Wherever we alter the text of the Rig-veda by conjecture, we ought to be able, if possible, to give some explanation how the mistake which we wish to remove came to be committed. If a passage is obscure, difficult to construe, if it contains words which occur in no other place, then we can understand how, during a long process of oral tradition, accidents may have happened. But when everything is smooth and easy, when the intention of the poet is not to be mistaken, when the same phrase has occurred many times before, then to suppose that a simple and perspicuous sentence was changed into a complicated and obscure string of words is more difficult to understand. I know there are passages where we cannot as yet account for the manner in which an evidently faulty reading found its way into both the Pada and Sanhitâ texts, but in those very passages we cannot be too circumspect. If we read viii. 40, 9, pûrvîsh *t*ă īndrōpămâtăyā*h* pûrvîr ŭtă prăsāstăyā*h*, nothing seems more tempting than to omit indra, and to read pûrvīsh *t*ă ŭpămâtăyā*h*. Nor would it be difficult to account for the insertion of indra; for though one would hardly venture to call it a marginal gloss that crept into the text—a case which, as far as I can see, has never happened in the hymns of the Rig-veda—it might be taken for an explanation given by an Â*k*ârya to his pupils, in order to inform them that the ninth verse,

different from the eighth, was addressed to Indra. But however plausible this may sound, the question remains whether the traditional reading could not be maintained, by admitting synizesis of opa, and reading pûrvîsh *t*ă îndrŏpamâtăyă*h*. For a similar synizesis of – ◡, see iii. 6, 10. prâ*k*î ādhvăreva tăsthătūh, unless we read prâ*k*y ādhvărēvă.

Another and more difficult case of synizesis occurs in

vii. 86, 4. ăvă tvânēnâ nămăsâ tŭră(*h*) ĭyâm.

It would be easy to conjecture tvareyâm instead of tura iyâm, but tvareyâm, in the sense of 'let me hasten,' is not Vedic. The choriambic ending, however, of Trish*t*ubha can be proved to be legitimate, and if that is the case, then even the synizesis of tŭră, though hard, ought not to be regarded as impossible.

In ii. 18, 5, â vî*m*sātyâ trî*m*sătâ yâhy̆ ārvâṅ,
â *k*ātvârî*m*sătâ harîbhîr yŭ*g*ână*h*,
â pañ*k*â*s*ătâ sŭrăthēbhîr îndră,
â shăsh*t*y̆â sāptātyâ sōmăpēyăm,

Professor Kuhn proposes to omit the â at the beginning of the second line, in order to have eleven instead of twelve syllables. By doing so he loses the uniformity of the four pâdas, which all begin with â, while by admitting synizesis of haribhi*h* all necessity for conjectural emendation disappears.

If the poets of the Veda had objected to a pæon

quartus (⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –) at the end of a Gâyatrî, what could have been easier than to change iv. 52, 1, divo adarsǐ dŭhǐtâ, into adarsi duhǐtâ dǐvā*h*? or x. 118, 6, ădâbhȳa*m* g*r*ǐhăpătīm, into g*r*ǐhăpătǐm ădâbhy̆ām?

If an epitritus secundus (– ⏑ – –) had been objectionable in the same place, why not say vi. 61, 10, stōmy̆â bhût sărāsvătî, instead of sărāsvătî stōmy̆â bhût? Why not viii. 2, 11, rēvāntā*m* hǐ s*r*ǐ*n*ōmǐ tvā, instead of rēvāntā*m* hǐ tvâ s*r*ǐ*n*ōmī?

If an ionicus a minore (⏑ ⏑ – –) had been excluded from that place, why not say i. 30, 10, *g*ărǐt*r*ībhyā*h* săkhē văsō, instead of săkhē văsō *g*ărǐt*r*ībhyā*h*? or i. 41, 7, vărŭ*n*āsyă măhī psără*h*, instead of măhī psărō vărŭ*n*āsyā?

If a dispondeus (– – – –) was to be avoided, then v. 68, 3, măhǐ vâ*m* kshătrā*m* dēvēshū, might easily have been replaced by deveshu vâ*m* kshătrām măhī, and viii. 2, 10, *s*ukrâ â*s*irā*m* yâ*k*āntē, by *s*ukrâ yâ*k*antă â*s*ǐrām.

If no epitritus primus (⏑ – – –) was allowed, why not say vi. 61, 11, nǐdās pâtŭ sărāsvătî, instead of sărāsvătî nǐdās pâtū, or viii. 79, 4, dvēshō yâvîr ăghāsyă *k*ǐt, instead of yâvîr ăghāsyă *k*ǐd dvēshā*h*?

Even the epitritus tertius (– – ⏑ –) might easily have been avoided by dropping the augment of apâm in x. 119, 1–13, kuvit somasyâpâm ǐtī. It is, in fact, a variety of less frequent occurrence than the rest, and might possibly be eliminated with some chance of success.

Lastly, the choriambus (– ⏑ ⏑ –) could have been

removed in iii. 24, 5, sisîhi nah sûnumâtah, by reading sûnumâtah sisîhi nah, and in viii. 2, 31, sanâd amrikto dayate, by reading amrikto dayate sanât.

But I am afraid the idea that regularity is better than irregularity, and that in the Veda, where there is a possibility, the regular metre is to be restored by means of conjectural emendations, has been so ably advocated by some of the most eminent scholars, that a merely general argument would now be of no avail. I must therefore give as much evidence as I can bring together in support of the contrary opinion; and though the process is a tedious one, the importance of the consequences with regard to Vedic criticism leaves me no alternative. With regard, then, to the final dipodia of Gâyatrî verses, I still hold and maintain, that, although the dijambus is by far the most general metre, the following seven varieties have to be recognized in the poetry of the Veda:

1. ⏑ – ⏑ –, 2. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, 3. – ⏑ – –, 4. ⏑ ⏑ – –, 5. – – – –, 6. ⏑ – – –, 7. – – ⏑ –, 8. – ⏑ ⏑ –.

I do not pretend to give every passage in which these varieties occur, but I hope I shall give a sufficient number in support of every one of them. I have confined myself almost entirely to the final dipodia of Gâyatrî verses, as the Ânushtubha verses would have swelled the lists too much; and in order to avoid every possible objection, I have given the verses, not in their Pada, but in their Sanhitâ form.

§ 2. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –.

i. 12, 9. tasmai pâvakă m*r*ĭ*l*ăyā. (Instead of m*r*i*l*aya, it has been proposed to read mar*d*aya.)

i. 18, 9. divo na sadmămăkhăsām.

i. 42, 4. padâbhi tish*th*ă tăpŭshīm.

i. 46, 2. dhiyâ devâ văsŭvĭdâ. (It would have been easy to read vasûvidâ.)

i. 97, 1–8. apa na*h* sosŭ*k*ăt ăghām.

iii. 11, 3. artha*m* hy asyă tără*n*ī.

iii. 27, 10. agne sudîtĭm ŭ*s*ĭ*g*ām.

iv. 15, 7. a*kkh*â na hûtă ŭd ărām.

iv. 32, 4. asmâ*n*̆-asmâ*n*̆ ĭd ŭd ăvā.

iv. 52, 1. divo adar*s*ĭ dŭhĭtâ.

v. 5, 9. ya*g*ñe-ya*g*ñe nă ŭd ăvā.

v. 7, 4. pra smâ minâtў ă*g*ără*h*.

v. 7, 5. bhûmâ p*r*ish*th*evă rŭrŭhū*h*.

v. 7, 7. anibh*r*ish*t*ătăvĭshī*h*.

v. 9, 4. agne pa*s*ur nă yăvăsē.

v. 53, 12. enâ yâmenă mărŭtă*h*.

v. 61, 3. putrak*r*ithe nă *g*ănăyă*h*.

v. 61, 11. atra *s*ravâ*m*sĭ dădhĭrē.

v. 64, 5. săkhīnâ*m* *k*ă v*r*ĭdhăsē.

v. 65, 4. sumatir astĭ vĭdhătă*h*.

v. 82, 9. pra *k*a suvâtĭ săvĭtâ.

vi. 16, 17. tatrâ sada*h* k*r*ĭ*n*ăvăsē.

vi. 16, 18. athâ duvo vănăvăsē.

vi. 16, 45. *sokâ* vi bhâhy̆ ă*g*ărā.

vi. 45, 17. sa tva*m* na indră m*r̆il*ăyā.

vi. 61, 4. dhī̂nâm ăvītry̆ ăvătū.

vii. 15, 14. pû̆r bhăvâ *s*ătăbhŭ*gīh*.

vii. 66, 2. asuryâya prămăhăsâ.

viii. 6, 35. anuttamanyŭm ă*g*ărām.

viii. 6, 42. *s*ata*m* vahantŭ hărăyā*h*.

viii. 32, 10. sâdhu k*rin*vantăm ăvăsē.

viii. 44, 28. tasmai pâvakă m*r̆il*ăyā.

viii. 45, 31. mâ tat kar indră m*r̆il*ăyā.

viii. 72, 6. dâmâ rathasyă dăd*r̆is*ē.

viii. 72, 13. rasâ dadhîtă v*r̆*ishăbhām.

viii. 80, 1 and 2. tva*m* na indră m*r̆il*ăyā.

viii. 83, 3. yûyam *r*itasyă răthy̆ā*h*.

viii. 93, 27. stot*r*ibhya indră m*r̆il*ăyā.

ix. 61, 5. tebhir na*h* somă m*r̆il*ăyā.

ix. 64, 1. v*r*ishâ dharmâ*n*ĭ dădhĭshē.

x. 118, 6. adâbhya*m* g*r̆*ihăpătīm.

§ 3. – ◡ – –.

i. 22, 11. a*kkh*innapatrâ*h* să*k*āntâm.

i. 30, 13. kshumanto yâbhīr mădēmā.

i. 41, 8. sumnair id va â̄ vĭvâsē.

i. 90, 1. aryamâ devāi*h* să*g*ōshâ*h*.

i. 90, 4. pûshâ bhago vāndy̆âsā*h*.

i. 120, 1. kathâ vidhâty āpră*k*ētâ*h*.

v. 19, 1. upasthe mâtūr vĭ *k*āsh*t*ē.

v. 70, 3. turyâma dasyûn tănûbhī*h*.
vi. 61, 10. sarasvatî stōmy̆â bhût.
viii. 2, 2. a*s*vo na niktō nădîshū.
viii. 2, 4. antar devân mārty̆â*ms* *k*ā.
viii. 2, 5. apasp*rin*vatē sŭhârdām.
viii. 2, 11. revanta*m* hi tvâ *s*r̆i*n*ōmī.
viii. 2, 12. ûdhar na nagnâ *g*ărāntē.
viii. 2, 13. pred u harivā*h* *s*rŭtāsyā.
viii. 2, 14. na gâyatra*m* gīyămânām.
viii. 2, 15. *s*ikshâ sa*k*îvā*h* să*k*îbhī*h*.
viii. 2, 16. ka*n*vâ ukthebhīr *g*ărāntē.
viii. 2, 17. taved u stomā*m* *k*ĭkētā.
viii. 2, 29. indra kâri*n*ā*m* v*r*ĭdhāntā*h*.
viii. 2, 30. satrâ dadhirē *s*ăvâ*m*sī.
viii. 2, 32. mahân mahîbhī*h* să*k*ībhī*h*.
viii. 2, 33. anu ghen mandî măghōnā*h*.
viii. 2, 36. sātyō 'vĭtâ vĭdhāntām.
viii. 2, 37. yo bhût somai*h* sātyămādvâ.
viii. 7, 30. mâr*d*îkebhir nâdhămânām.
viii. 7, 33. văv*r*ĭty̆â*m* *k*ītrăvâ*g*ân.
viii. 11, 2. agne rathîr ādhvărâ*n*âm.
viii. 11, 3. adevîr agnē ărâtī*h* (or § 4).
viii. 11, 4. nopa veshi *g*âtăvēdā*h*.
viii. 16, 3. maho vâ*g*inā*m* sănībhyā*h*.
viii. 16, 4. harshumanta*h* *s*ûrăsâtāu.
viii. 16, 5. yeshâm indras tē *g*ăyāntī.
viii. 16, 7. mahân mahîbhī*h* să*k*ībhī*h*. Cf. viii. 2, 32.

viii. 46, 2. vidma dâtârā*m* răyī*n*âm.

viii. 71, 2. tv̆ăm ĭd ăsī kshăpâvân (or § 4).

viii. 81, 1. mahâhastî dākshĭ*n*ēnā.

viii. 81, 3. bhîma*m* na gâ*m* vârăyāntē.

viii. 81, 4. na râdhasâ mārdhĭshān nā*h*.

viii. 81, 7. adâ*s*ûsh*t*arāsyă vēdā*h*.

viii. 81, 9. va*s*ai*s* *k*a makshū *g*ărāntē.

viii. 94, 2. s̆ûryâmâsā d*r*ĭsē kām.

ix. 62, 5. svadanti gâvā*h* păyōbhī*h*.

x. 20, 4. kavir abhra*m* dīdy̆ânā*h*.

x. 20, 7. adre*h* sûnum āyŭm âhū*h*.

§ 4. ⏑ ⏑ – –.

i. 3, 8. usrâ iva svăsărā*n*ī.

i. 27, 4. agne deveshŭ pră vō*k*ā*h*.

i. 30, 10. sakhe vaso *g*ărĭt*r*ībhyā*h*.

i. 30, 15. *r*i*n*or aksha*m* nă să*k*ībhī*h*.

i. 38, 7. miha*m* k*r*i*n*vanty̆ ăvâtâm.

i. 38, 8. yad eshâ*m* v*r*ish*t*ĭr ăsār*g*ī.

i. 41, 7. mahi psaro văru*n*āsyā.

i. 43, 7. mahi *s*ravas tŭvĭn*r*īm*n*ām.

ii. 6, 2. enâ sûktenă sŭ*g*âtā.

iii. 27, 3. ati dveshâ*m*sĭ tărēmā.

v. 82, 7. satyasava*m* săvĭtârām.

vi. 16, 25. ûr*g*o napâd ămrĭtāsyā.

vi. 16, 26. marta ânâsă sŭv*r*īktīm.

vi. 61, 12. vâ*g*e-vâ*g*e hăvy̆â bhût.

viii. 2, 1. anâbhayin rarimâ te.

viii. 2, 3. indra tvâsmint sadhamâde.

viii. 2, 8. samâne adhi bhârman (see page cx).

viii. 2, 18. yanti pramâdam atandrâ*h*.

viii. 2, 19. mahâñ iva yuva*g*âni*h*.

viii. 2, 21. trishu *g*âtasya manâ*m*si.

viii. 2, 22. ya*s*astara*m* *s*atamûte*h*.

viii. 2, 23. bharâ piban naryâya.

viii. 2, 26. ni yamate *s*atamûti*h*.

viii. 2, 35. ino vasu sa hi vo*lh*â.

viii. 16, 2. apâm avo na samudre.

viii. 16, 6. esha indro varivask*r*it.

viii. 16, 8. eka*s* *k*it sann abhibhûti*h*.

viii. 71, 9. sakhe vaso *g*arit*r*ibhya*h*. Cf. i. 30, 10.

viii. 79, 3. uru yantâsi varûtham.

ix. 21, 5. yo asmabhyam arâvâ (or arâvâ).

ix. 62, 6. madhvo rasa*m* sadhamâde.

ix. 66, 21. dadhad rayi*m* mayi posham.

x. 20, 5. minvant sadma pura eti.

x. 185, 1. durâdharsha*m* varu*n*asya.

x. 185, 2. î*s*e ripur agha*s*a*m*sa*h*.

x. 185, 3. *g*yotir ya*kkh*anty a*g*asram.

§ 5. – – – –.

i. 2, 7. dhiya*m* gh*r*itâ*k*î*m* sâdhantâ.

i. 3, 4. a*n*vîbhis tanâ pûtâsa*h*.

i. 27, 3. pâhi sadam id vi*s*vâyu*h*.

i. 90, 2. vratâ rakshantē vī*s*vâhâ (or § 6).
ii. 6, 4. yuyodhy asmād dvēshâ*m*sī.
iii. 41, 8. indra svadhâvō mātsvēhā (or § 6).
v. 68, 3. mahi vâ*m* kshatrā*m* dēvēshū.
v. 68, 4. adruhâ devaū vārdhētē.
viii. 2, 10. *s*ukrâ â*s*irā*m* yâ*k*āntē.
viii. 2, 24. vâ*g*a*m* stot*r*ibhyō gōmāntām (or § 6).
viii. 16, 1. nara*m* n*r*ishâhām mā*m*hīsh*th*ām.
viii. 16, 12. a*kkh*â *k*a na*h* sūmnā*m* nēshī.
viii. 79, 2. prem andha*h* khyan nī*h* *s*rōnō bhût.
ix. 66, 17. bhûridâbhya*s* *k*īn mā*m*hīyân.
x. 20, 6. agni*m* devâ vâ*s*īmāntām.
x. 20, 8. agni*m* havishâ vārdhānta*h*.

§ 6. ⏑ – – –.

i. 15, 6. *r*itunâ ya*g*ñăm âsâthē.
i. 38, 2. kva vo gâvo nă ra*n*yāntī (see page 70).
i. 38, 9. yat p*r*ithivî*m* vy̆ūndāntī.
i. 86, 9. vidhyatâ vidyŭtâ rāksha*h*.
iii. 27, 2. *s*rusht*î*vâna*m* dhĭtâvānām.
iii. 41, 3. vîhi *s*ûra pŭrō*l*â*s*ām.
iv. 32, 23. babhrû yâmeshŭ *s*ōbhētē.
v. 68, 5. b*r*ihanta*m* gartăm â*s*âtē.
v. 70, 2. vaya*m* te rudrâ syâmā.
vi. 61, 11. sarasvatî nĭdās pâtū.
viii. 2, 20. a*s*rîra ivă *g*āmâtâ.
viii. 2, 25. soma*m* vîrâyă *s*ûrâyā.

viii. 7, 32. stushe hira*n*yavâ*s*îbhi*h*.
viii. 26, 19. vahethe *s*ubhrayâvânâ.
viii. 79, 4. yâvîr aghasya *k*id dveshah.
viii. 79, 5. vavri*g*yus t*r*ishyata*h* kâmam.
viii. 81, 6. indra mâ no vasor nir bhâk.
x. 158, 4. sa*m* *k*eda*m* vi *k*a pa*s*yema.

§ 7. — — ⏑ —.

i. 10, 8. sa*m* gâ asmabhya*m* dhûnuhi.
i. 12, 5. agne tva*m* rakshasvina*h*.
i. 37, 15. vi*s*va*m* *k*id âyur *g*îvase.
i. 43, 8. â na indo vâ*g*e bha*g*a.
i. 46, 6. tâm asme râsâthâm isham.
iii. 62, 7. asmâbhis tubhya*m* *s*asyate.
iv. 30, 21. dâsânâm indro mâyayâ.
v. 86, 5. a*m*s*e*va devâv arvate.
viii. 5, 32. puru*sk*andrâ nâsatyâ (or nâsatyâ, § 8).
viii. 5, 35. dhî*g*avanâ nâsatyâ.
x. 119, 1–13. kuvit somasyâpâm iti.
x. 144, 4. *s*ata*k*akra*m* yo 'hyo vartani*h*.

§ 8. — ⏑ ⏑ —.

i. 2, 9. daksha*m* dadhâte apasam (or § 2).
i. 6, 10. indra*m* maho vâ ra*g*asa*h*.
i. 27, 6. sadyo dâ*s*ushe ksharasi.
i. 30, 21. a*s*ve na *k*itre arushi (or § 2).
i. 41, 9. na duruktâya sp*r*ihayet (or § 2).
i. 90, 5. kartâ na*h* svastimata*h*.

iii. 24, 5. sisîhi na*h* sûnŭmăta*h*.
v. 19, 2. â d*r*il*h*âm pura*m* vivisu*h*.
v. 70, 1. mitra va*m*si vâ*m* sumatim.
v. 70, 4. mâ *s*eshasâ mâ tanasâ.
v. 82, 8. svâdhîr deva*h* savitâ.
viii. 2, 27. gîrbhi*h* *s*ruta*m* girva*n*asam.
viii. 2, 31. sanâd am*r*ikto dayate (or § 2).
viii. 16, 9. indra*m* vardhanti kshitaya*h* (or § 2).
viii. 55, 4. a*s*vâso na *k*aṅkramata.
viii. 67, 19. yûyam asmabhya*m* m*r*i*l*ata.
viii. 81, 5. abhi râdhasâ *g*ugurat.
viii. 81, 8. asmâbhi*h* su ta*m* sanuhi.
ix. 47, 2. *r*i*n*â *k*a dh*r*ish*n*us *k*ayate.

But although with regard to the Gâyatra, and I may add, the Ânush*t*ubha pâdas, the evidence as to the variety of their v*r*ittas is such that it can hardly be resisted, a much more determined stand has been made in defence of the v*r*itta of the Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata pâdas. Here Professor Kuhn and those who follow him maintain that the rule is absolute, that the former must end in ᴗ – ᴗ, the latter in ᴗ – ᴗ –, and that the eighth syllable, immediately preceding these syllables, ought, if possible, to be long. Nor can I deny that Professor Kuhn has brought forward powerful arguments in support of his theory, and that his emendations of the Vedic text recommend themselves by their great ingenuity and simplicity. If his theory could be

carried out, I should readily admit that we should gain something. We should have throughout the Veda a perfectly uniform metre, and wherever we found any violation of it, we should be justified in resorting to conjectural criticism.

The only question is at what price this strict uniformity can be obtained. If, for instance, in order to have the regular v*r*ittas at the end of Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata lines, we were obliged to repeal all rules of prosody, to allow almost every short vowel to be used as long, and every long vowel to be used as short, whether long by nature or by position, we should have gained very little, we should have robbed Peter to pay Paul, we should have removed no difficulty, but only ignored the causes which created it. Now, if we examine the process by which Professor Kuhn establishes the regularity of the v*r*ittas or final syllables of Traish*t*ubha and *G*âgata pâdas, we find, in addition to the rules laid down before, and in which he is supported, as we saw, to a great extent by the Prâti*s*âkhya and Pâ*n*ini, viz. the anceps nature of e and o, and of a long final vowel before a vowel, the following exceptions or metrical licences, without which that metrical uniformity at which he aims, could not be obtained:

1. The vowel o in the body of a word is to be treated as optionally short:

ii. 39, 3. prati vastor usrâ (see Trish*t*. § 5).

Here the o of vasto*h* is supposed to be short, although it is the Gu*n*a of u, and therefore very

different from the final e of sarve or âste, or the final o of sarvo for sarvas or mano for manas*. It should be remarked that in Greek, too, the final diphthongs corresponding to the e of sarve and âste are treated as short, as far as the accent is concerned. Hence ἄποικοι, τύπτεται, and even γνῶμαι, nom. plur. In Latin, too, the old terminations of the nom. sing. o and u, instead of the later us, are short. (Neue, Formenlehre, § 23 seq.)

vi. 51, 15. gopâ amâ.

Here the o of gopâ is treated as short, in order to get ⏑–⏑– instead of ––⏑–, which is perfectly legitimate at the end of an Ush*n*ih.

2. The long î and û are treated as short, not only before vowels, which is legitimate, but also before consonants:

vii. 62, 4. dyâvâbhûmî adite trâsîthâ*m* na*h* (see Trish*t*. § 5).

The forms îsîyâ and râsîyâ in vii. 32, 18, occur at the end of octosyllabic or Gâyatra pâdas, and are therefore perfectly legitimate, yet Professor Kuhn would change them too, into îsîyâ and râsîyâ. In vii. 28, 4, even mâyî is treated as mâyî (see Trish*t*. § 5); and in vii. 68, 1, vîtâm as vîtâm. If, in explanation

* A very strong divergence of opinion is expressed on this point by Professor Bollensen. He says: 'O und E erst später in die Schrifttafel aufgenommen, bewahren ihre Länge durch das ganze indische Schriftenthum bis ins Apabhra*ms*a hinab. Selbstverständlich kann kurz o und e im Veda erst recht nicht zugelassen werden.' Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 574.

of this shortening of vîtam, vîhi is quoted, which is identified with vihi, this can hardly be considered as an argument, for vihi occurs where no short syllable is required, iv. 48, 1; ii. 26, 2; and where, therefore, the shortening of the vowel cannot be attributed to metrical reasons.

3. Final m followed by an initial consonant is allowed to make no position, and even in the middle of a word a nasal followed by a liquid is supposed to make positio debilis. Several of the instances, however, given in support, are from Gâyatra pâdas, where Professor Kuhn, in some of his later articles, has himself allowed greater latitude; others admit of different scanning, as for instance,

i. 117, 8. mahah kshonasyâ asvinâ kanvâyâ.

Here, even if we considered the dispondeus as illegitimate, we might scan kanvâya, for this scanning occurs in other places, while to treat the first a as short before *no* seems tantamount to surrendering all rules of prosody.

4. Final n before semivowels, mutes, and double n before vowels make no position*. Ex. iii. 49, 1. yasmin visvâ (Trish*t*. § 5); i. 174, 5. yasmiñ *k*âkan; i. 186, 4. sasmin(n) ûdhan†.

---

* Professor Kuhn has afterwards (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 207) modified this view, and instead of allowing a final nasal followed by a mute to make positio debilis, he thinks that the nasal should in most cases be omitted altogether.

† Here a distinction should be made, I think, between an n before a consonant, and a final n following a short vowel, which,

5. Final Visarga before sibilants makes no position*. Ex. iv. 21, 10. satya*h* samrâ*t* (Trish*t*. § 5). Even in i. 63, 4. *k*odî*h* sakhâ (probably a *G*âgata), and v. 82, 4. sâvî*h* saubhagam (a Gây. § 7), the long î is treated as short, and the short a of sakhâ is lengthened, because an aspirate follows.

6. S before mutes makes no position. Ex. vi. 66, 11. ugrâ aspr*i*dhran (Trish*t*. § 3).

7. *S* before *k* makes no position. Ex. vi*s*va-*sk*andrâ*h*, &c.

8. Mutes before s make no position. Ex. rakshas, according to Professor Kuhn, in the seventh Ma*n*-*d*ala only, but see i. 12, 5; kutsa, &c.

9. Mutes before r or v make no position. Ex. su*s*ipra, dîrgha*s*rut.

10. Sibilants before y make no position. Ex. dasyûn.

11. R followed by mutes or sibilants makes no position. Ex. âyur *g*îvase, *kh*ardi*h*, varshish*th*am.

12. Words like smaddish*t*îm &c. retain their vowel short before two following consonants.

We now proceed to consider a number of pro-

---

according to the rules of Sandhi, is doubled, if a vowel follows. In the latter case, the vowel before the n remains, no doubt, short in many cases, or, more correctly, the doubling of the n does not take place, e. g. i. 63, 4; 186, 4. In other places, the doubling seems preferable, e. g. i. 33, 11, though Professor Kuhn would remove it altogether. Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 125.

* Here, too, according to later researches, Professor Kuhn would rather omit the final sibilant altogether, loc. cit. vol. iv. p. 207.

sodial rules which Professor Kuhn proposes to repeal in order to have a long syllable where the MSS. supply a short:

1. The vowel *ri* is to be pronounced as long, or rather as ar. Ex. i. 12, 9. tāsmāi pâvăkā m*r*ĭ*l*ăyā is to be read mārdăyā; v. 33, 10. sā*m*văra*n*asyă *r*ĭshē*h* is to be read arshe*h*. But why not sā*m*vără*n*āsyă͡*r*ishē*h* (i. e. siarshe*h*)?

2. The a privativum may be lengthened. Ex. a*g*ărā*h*, am*r*ĭtā*h*.

3. Short vowels before liquids may be long. Ex. nara*h*, tarutâ, tarati, marutâm, hariva*h*, arushi, dadhur iha, suvitâ (p. 471).

4. Short vowels before nasals may be lengthened. Ex. *g*anân, sanitar, tanû*h*, ŭpa nā*h*.

5. Short vowels before the ma of the superlative may be lengthened. Ex. n*r*itama.

6. The short a in the roots *s*am and yam, and in am (the termination of the accusative) may be lengthened.

7. The group ăvă is to be pronounced āuă. Ex. ăvăsē becomes āuăsē; săvĭtâ becomes sāuĭtâ; năvă becomes nāuă.

8. The group ăyă is to be changed into aĭă or ēă. Ex. nāyăsĭ becomes nāiăsĭ.

9. The group vă is to be changed into ua, and this ua to be treated as a kind of diphthong and therefore long. Ex. kā*n*vătămā*h* becomes kā*n*ûātă-mā*h*; vărŭ*n*a*h* becomes ûārŭ*n*a*h*.

10. The short vowel in the reduplicated syllable of perfects is to be lengthened. Ex. tatăna*h*, dadhĭrē.

11. Short vowels before all aspirates may be lengthened. Ex. răthâ*h* becomes rāthâ*h;* săkhâ becomes sākhâ.

12. Short vowels before h and all sibilants may be lengthened. Ex. măhĭnĭ becomes māhĭnĭ; ŭ*s*ĭ*g*âm becomes ū*s*ĭ*g*âm; rĭshătē becomes rīshătē; dăsāt becomes dāsāt.

13. The short vowel before t may be lengthened. Ex. vâ*g*avăta*h* becomes vâ*g*avāta*h;* ătithi*h* becomes ātithi*h*.

14. The short vowel before d may be lengthened. Ex. ŭdaram becomes ūdaram; ŭd ava becomes ūd ava.

15. The short vowel before p may be lengthened. Ex. ăpâm becomes āpâm; tăpushim becomes tāpushim; g*r*ihăpatim becomes g*r*ihāpatim.

16. The short vowel before g and *g* may be lengthened. Ex. sânushăg asat becomes sânushāg asat; yună*g*an becomes yunā*g*an.

Let us now turn back for one moment to look at the slaughter which has been committed! Is there one single rule that has been spared? Is there one single short syllable that must always remain short, or a long syllable that must always remain long? If all restrictions of prosody are thus removed, our metres, no doubt, become perfectly regular. But it should be remembered that these metrical rules, for which all this carnage has been committed, are not founded upon any *à priori* principles, but deduced by ancient or modern metricians from those very hymns which seem

so constantly to violate them. Neither ancient nor modern metricians had, as far as we know, any evidence to go upon besides the hymns of the Rig-veda; and the philosophical speculations as to the origin of metres in which some of them indulge, and from which they would fain derive some of their unbending rules, are, as need hardly be said, of no consequence whatever. I cannot understand what definite idea even modern writers connect with such statements as that, for instance, the Trish*t*ubh metre sprang from the *G*agatî metre, that the eleven syllables of the former are an abbreviation of the twelve syllables of the latter. Surely, metres are not made artificially, and by addition or subtraction. Metres have a natural origin in the rhythmic sentiment of different people, and they become artificial and arithmetical in the same way as language with its innate principles of law and analogy becomes in course of time grammatical and artificial. To derive one metre from another is like deriving a genitive from a nominative, which we may do indeed for grammatical purposes, but which no one would venture to do who is at all acquainted with the natural and independent production of grammatical forms. Were we to arrange the Trish*t*ubh and *G*agatî metres in chronological order, I should decidedly place the Trish*t*ubh first, for we see, as it were before our eyes, how sometimes one foot, sometimes two and three feet in a Trish*t*ubh verse admit an additional syllable at the end, particularly in set phrases which would not

submit to a Trish*t*ubh ending. The phrase *sam* no bhava dvipade *sam k*atushpade is evidently a solemn phrase, and we see it brought in without hesitation, even though every other line of the same strophe or hymn is Trish*t*ubh, i. e. hendecasyllabic, not dodecasyllabic. See, for instance, vi. 74, 1; vii. 54, 1; x. 85, 44; 165, 1. However, I maintain by no means that this was the actual origin of *G*agatî metres; I only refer to it in order to show the groundlessness of metrical theories which represent the component elements, a foot of one or two or four syllables as given first, and as afterwards compounded into systems of two, three or four such feet, and who therefore would wish us to look upon the hendecasyllabic Trish*t*ubh as originally a dodecasyllabic *G*agatî, only deprived of its tail. If my explanation of the name of Trish*t*ubh, i. e. Three-step, is right, its origin must be ascribed to a far more natural process than that of artificial amputation. It was to accompany a choros, i. e. a dance, which after advancing freely for eight steps in one direction, turned back (v*r*itta) with three steps, the second of which was strongly marked, and would therefore, whether in song or recitation, be naturally accompanied by a long syllable. It certainly is so in the vast majority of Trish*t*ubhs which have been handed down to us. But if among these verses we find a small number in which this simple and palpable rhythm is violated, and which nevertheless were preserved from the first in that imperfect form, although the temptation

to set them right must have been as great to the ancient as it has proved to be to the modern students of the Veda, are we to say that nearly all, if not all, the rules that determine the length and shortness of syllables, and which alone give character to every verse, are to be suspended? Or, ought we not rather to consider, whether the ancient choregic poets may not have indulged occasionally in an irregular movement? We see that this was so with regard to Gâyatrî verses. We see the greater freedom of the first and second pâdas occasionally extend to the third; and it will be impossible, without intolerable violence, to remove all the varieties of the last pâda of a Gâyatrî of which I have given examples above, pages cxv seq.

It is, of course, impossible to give here all the evidence that might be brought forward in support of similar freedom in Trish*t*ubh verses, and I admit that the number of real varieties with them is smaller than with the Gâyatrîs. In order to make the evidence which I have to bring forward in support of these varieties as unassailable as possible, I have excluded nearly every pâda that occurs only in the first, second, or third line of a strophe, and have restricted myself, with few exceptions, and those chiefly referring to pâdas that had been quoted by other scholars in support of their own theories, to the final pâdas of Trish*t*ubh verses. Yet even with this limited evidence, I think I shall be able to establish at least three varieties of Trish*t*ubh.

Preserving the same classification which I adopted before for the Gâyatrîs, so as to include the important eighth syllable of the Trish*t*ubh, which does not properly belong to the v*r*itta, I maintain that class 4. ⏑ ⏑ – –, class 5. – – – –, and class 8. – ⏑ ⏑ – must be recognized as legitimate endings in the hymns of the Veda, and that by recognizing them we are relieved from nearly all, if not all, the most violent prosodial licences which Professor Kuhn felt himself obliged to admit in his theory of Vedic metres.

§ 4. ⏑ ⏑ – –.

The verses which fall under § 4 are so numerous that after those of the first Ma*nd*ala, mentioned above, they need not be given here in full. They are simply cases where the eighth syllable is not lengthened, and they cannot be supposed to run counter to any rule of the Prâtisâkhya, for the simple reason that the Prâtisâkhya never gave such a rule as that the eighth syllable must be lengthened if the ninth is short. Examples will be found in the final pâda of Trish*t*ubhs: ii. 30, 6; iii. 36, 4; 53, 15; 54, 12; iv. 1, 16; 2, 7; 9; 11; 4, 12; 6, 1; 2; 4; 7, 7; 11, 5; 17, 3; 23, 6; 24, 2; 27, 1; 28, 5; 55, 5; 57, 2; v. 1, 2; vi. 17, 10; 21, 8; 23, 7; 25, 5; 29, 6; 33, 1; 62, 1; 63, 7; vii. 21, 5; 28, 3; 42, 4; 56, 15; 60, 10; 84, 2; 92, 4; viii. 1, 33; 96, 9; ix. 92, 5; x. 61, 12; 13; 74, 3; 117, 7.

In support of § 5. – – – –, the number of cases is smaller, but it should be remembered that it might

be considerably increased if I had not restricted myself to the final pâda of each Trish*t*ubh, while the first, second, and third pâdas would have yielded a much larger harvest:

§ 5. – – – –.

i. 89, 9. mâ no madhyâ rî̄rishatâ̄yūr gāntō*h*.
i. 92, 6. supratîkâ saumanasâ̄yâ̄*g*î̄gā*h*.
i. 114, 5. *s*arma varma *kh*ardir asmābhyā*m* yā*m*sāt.
i. 117, 2. tena narâ vartir asmābhyā*m* yâtām.
i. 122, 1. ĭshŭdhyēvă mărŭtō rōdāsyō*h* (or rō̆dāsyō*h*).
i. 122, 8. a*s*vâvato rathino māhyā*m* sûrī*h*.
i. 186, 3. ishas *k*a parshad arigûrtā*h* sûrī*h*.
ii. 4, 2. devânâm agnir aratī̄r *g*îrâ*s*vā*h*.
iii. 49, 2. p*ri*thu*g*rayâ aminâd âyūr dāsyō*h*.
iv. 3, 9. *g*âmaryena payasâ̄ pî̄pâ̄yā.
iv. 26, 6. divo amushmâd uttarâ̄d â̄dâ̄yā.
v. 41, 14. udâ vardhantâm abhishâ̄tâ(*h*) ār*n*â*h*.
vi. 25, 2. âryâya vi*s*o (a)va târī̄r dâsī*h*.
vi. 66, 11. girayo nâpa ugrâ̄ āsp*r*ī̄dhrān.
vii. 8, 6. dyumad amîva*k*âtanā*m* rākshōhâ.
vii. 28, 4. ava dvitâ varu*n*o mâ̄yî nā*h* sât.
vii. 68, 1. havyâni *k*a pratibh*r*itâ vîtā*m* nā*h*.
vii. 71, 2. divâ naktam mâdhvî trâsîthâ*m* nā*h*.
vii. 78, 1. *g*yotishmatâ vâmam asmābhyā*m* vākshī.
vii. 93, 7[b]. a*kkh*â mitra*m* varu*n*am īndrā*m* vō*k*ē*h*.
ix. 90, 4. sa*m* *k*ikrado maho asmābhyā*m* vầ*g*ân.
x. 11, 8. bhâga*m* no atra vasumāntā*m* vîtât.

I do not wish to deny that in several of these lines it would be possible to remove the long syllable from the ninth place by conjectural emendation. Instead of âyur in i. 89, 9, we might read âyu; in i. 92, 6, we might drop the augment of agîgar; in ii. 4, 2, we might admit synizesis in aratir, and then read gîra-asvâh, as in i. 141, 12. In vi. 25, 2, after eliding the a of ava, we might read dâsîh. But even if, in addition to all this, we were to admit the possible suppression of final m in asmabhyam, mahyam, and in the accusative singular, or the suppression of s in the nominative singular, both of which would be extreme measures, we should still have a number of cases which could not be righted without even more violent remedies. Why then should we not rather admit the occasional appearance of a metrical variation which certainly has a powerful precedent in the dispondeus of Gâyatrîs? I am not now acquainted with the last results of metrical criticism in Virgil, but, unless some new theories now prevail, I well recollect that spondaic hexameters, though small in number, much smaller than in the Veda, were recognized by the best scholars, and no emendations attempted to remove them. If then in Virgil we read, 'Cum patribus populoque, penatibusque et magnis dis,' why not follow the authority of the best MSS. and the tradition of the Prâtisâkhyas and admit a dispondeus at the end of a Trishtubh rather than suspend, in order to meet this single

difficulty, some of the most fundamental rules of prosody?

I now proceed to give a more numerous list of Traish*t*ubha pâdas ending in a choriambus, – ◡ ◡ –, again confining myself, with few exceptions, to final pâdas:

§ 8. – ◡ ◡ –.

i. 62, 3. sam usriyâbhir vâva*s*āntă nărā*h*.
i. 103, 4. yad dha sûnu*h* *s*ravase nâmă dădhē.
i. 121, 9. *s*ush*n*am anantai*h* pariyâsĭ vădhāi*h*.
i. 122, 10[b]. *s*ārdhăstărō nărâ*m* gûrtă*s*răvâ*h*.
i. 173, 8. sûrî*ms* *k*id yadi dhishâ vēshĭ *g*ănân.
i. 186, 2. karant sushâhâ vithurā*m* nă *s*ăvā*h*.
ii. 4, 3. dakshâyyo yo dâsvatē dămă â (not dămē â).
ii. 19, 1. oko dadhe brahma*n*yantā*s* *k*ă nărā*h*.
ii. 33, 14. mî*dh*vas tokâya tanayâyă m*r*ĭ*l*ā.
iv. 1, 19[c]. *s*ŭ*k*ў ŭdhō ăt*r*ĭ*n*ān nă găvâm*.
iv. 25, 4. nare naryâya n*r*itamâyă n*r*ĭ*n*âm.
iv. 39, 2. dadathur mitrâvaru*n*â tătŭrĭm.
v. 30, 12. prăty āgrăbhīshmă n*r*ĭtămāsyă n*r*ĭ*n*âm.
v. 41, 4. â*g*ī*m* nă *g*āgmŭr â*s*vă*s*vătămâ*h*.
v. 41, 15. smāt sûrĭbhĭr *r*ĭ*g*ŭhāstă *r*ĭ*g*ŭvănī*h*.
vi. 4, 7. vâyūm pr*i**n*āntĭ râdhăsâ n*r*ĭtămâ*h*.
vi. 10, 5. sŭvîrўĕbhī*s* *k*âbhĭ sāntĭ *g*ănân.

---

* 'Nur eine Stelle habe ich mir angemerkt, wo das Metrum âam verlangt.' Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 180; Bollensen, Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 587.

vi. 11, 4. añ*g*anti suprayasam pañ*k*a *g*anâ*h*.
vi. 13, 1[b]. agne vi yanti vanino na vayâ*h*.
vi. 13, 1[d]. divo v*r*ish*t*ir î*d*yo rîtir apâm.
vi. 20, 1[b]. tasthaú rayí*h* *s*avasâ p*r*itsu *g*anân.
vi. 20, 1[d]. daddhi sûno sahaso v*r*itraturam.
vi. 29, 4. ukthâ *sam*santo devavâtatamâ*h*.
vi. 33, 3. â p*r*itsu darshi n*r*i*n*âm n*r*itama.
vi. 33, 5. divi shyâma pârye goshatamâ*h*.
vi. 44, 11. *g*ahy asushvîn pra v*r*ihâp*r*i*n*ata*h*.
vi. 49, 12. st*r*ibhir na nâka*m* va*k*anasya vipa*h*.
vi. 68, 5. va*m*sad rayi*m* rayivata*s* *k*a *g*anân.
vi. 68, 7. pra sadyo dyumnâ tirate taturi*h*.
vii. 19, 10. sakhâ *k*a sûro 'vitâ *k*a n*r*i*n*âm.
vii. 62, 4. mâ mitrasya priyatamasya n*r*i*n*âm.
ix. 97, 26. hotâro na diviya*g*o mandratamâ*h* (?).
x. 55, 8. *s*ûro nir yudhâdhamad dasyûn (?).
x. 99, 9. atka*m* yo asya sanitota n*r*i*n*âm.
x. 108, 6. b*r*ihaspatir va ubhayâ na m*r*i*l*ât.
x. 169, 1. avasâya padvate rudra m*r*i*l*a.

It is perfectly true that this sudden change in the rhythm of Trish*t*ubh verses, making their ending iambic instead of trochaic, grates on our ears. But, I believe, that if we admit a short stop after the seventh syllable, the intended rhythm of these verses will become intelligible. We remarked a similar break in the verses of hymn x. 77, where the sudden transition to an iambic metre was used with great

effect, and the choriambic ending, though less effective, is by no means offensive. It should be remarked also, that in many, though not in all cases, a cæsura takes place after the seventh syllable, and this is, no doubt, a great help towards a better delivery of these choriambic Trish*t*ubhs.

While, however, I contend for the recognition of these three varieties of the normal Trish*t*ubh metre, I am quite willing to admit that other variations besides these, which occur from time to time in the Veda, form a legitimate subject of critical discussion.

§ 2. ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –.

Trish*t*ubh verses the final pâda of which ends in ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –, I should generally prefer to treat as ending in a *G*âgata pâda, in which this ending is more legitimate. Thus I should propose to scan:

i. 122, 11. pra*s*astaye mahinâ \| rathavate.

iii. 20, 5. vasûn rudrâñ âdityâñ \| iha huve.

v. 2, 1. pura*h* pa*s*yanti nihitam \| (tam) aratau.

vi. 13, 5. vayo v*ri*kâyâraye \| *g*asuraye.

§ 1. ⏑ – ⏑ –.

I should propose the same medela for some final pâdas of Trish*t*ubhs apparently ending in ⏑ – ⏑ –. We might indeed, as has been suggested, treat these verses as single instances of that peculiar

metre which we saw carried out in the whole of hymn x. 77, but at the end of a verse the admission of an occasional *G*âgata pâda is more in accordance with the habit of the Vedic poets. Thus I should scan:

v. 33, 4. v*r*ishâ sămātsŭ dâsāsyă nâmă *k*it *.

v. 41, 5b. râyă ĕshē 'vāsĕ dădhītă dhī*h*.

After what I have said before on the real character of the teaching of the Prâtis*â*khya, I need not show again that the fact of Uva*t*a's counting ta of dadhîta as the tenth syllable is of no importance in determining the real nature of these hymns, though it is of importance, as Professor Kuhn remarks (Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 451), in showing that Uva*t*a considered himself at perfect liberty in counting or not counting, for his own purposes, the elided syllable of avase.

vii. 4, 6. mâpsăvā*h* pări shădâmă mâdŭvā*h*.

§ 6. ◡ – – –.

Final pâdas of Trish*t*ubhs ending in ◡ – – – are very scarce. In vi. 1, 4,

bhadrâyâ*m* te ra*n*ayantă sā*m*d*r*ish*t*āu,

it would be very easy to read bhadrâyâ*m* te sa*m*d*r*ish*t*au ră*n*ăyăntā; and in x. 74, 2,

---

* Professor Kuhn has finally adopted the same scanning, Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 184.

dyaûr na vârebhih krinavanta svaih,

we may either recognize a Gâgata pâda, or read

dyaûr na vârebhîh krinavanta svaih,

which would agree with the metre of hymn x. 77.

§ 7. – – ᴗ –.

Pâdas ending in – – ᴗ – do not occur as final in any Traishtubha hymn, but as many Gâgata pâdas occur in the body of Traishtubha hymns, we have to scan them as dodecasyllabic:

i. 63, 4[a]. tvam ha tyad indra kodîh sakhâ.

iv. 26, 6[b]. parâvatah sakuno mandram madam.

The adjective pâvaka which frequently occurs at the end of final and internal pâdas of Trishtubh hymns has always to be scanned pâvaka. Cf. iv. 51, 2; vi. 5, 2; 10, 4; 51, 3; vii. 3, 1; 9; 9, 1[b]; 56, 12; x. 46, 7[b].

I must reserve what I have to say about other metres of the Veda for another opportunity, but I cannot leave this subject without referring once more to a metrical licence which has been strongly advocated by Professor Kuhn and others, and by the admission of which there is no doubt that many difficulties might be removed, I mean the occasional omission of a final m and s, and the subsequent contraction of the final and initial vowels. The arguments that have been brought forward in support of this are very powerful. There is the general argument that final s and m

are liable to be dropt in other Aryan languages, and particularly for metrical purposes. There is the stronger argument that in some cases final s and m in Sanskrit may or may not be omitted, even apart from any metrical stress. In Sanskrit we find that the demonstrative pronoun sas appears most frequently as sa (sa dadâti), and if followed by liquid vowels, it may coalesce with them even in later Sanskrit. Thus we see saisha for sa esha, sendra*h* for sa indra*h* sanctioned for metrical purposes even by Pâ*n*ini, vi. 1, 134. We might refer also to feminines which have s in the nominative singular after bases in û, but drop it after bases in î. We find in the Sanhitâ text, v. 7, 8, svádhitîva, instead of svádhiti*h*-iva in the Pada text, sanctioned by the Prâtisâkhya 259; likewise ix. 61, 10, Sanhitâ, bhűmy ấ dade, instead of Pada, bhűmi*h* ấ dade. But before we draw any general conclusions from such instances, we should consider whether they do not admit of a grammatical instead of a metrical explanation. The nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun was sa before it was sas; by the side of bhűmi*h* we have a secondary form bhűmî; and we may conclude from svádhitî-vân, i. 88, 2, that the Vedic poets knew of a form svádhitî, by the side of svádhiti*h*.

As to the suppression of final m, however, we see it admitted by the best authorities, or we see at least alternate forms with or without m, in túbhya, which occurs frequently instead of tú-

bhyam*, and twice, at least, without apparently any metrical reason†. We find asmâka instead of asmâkam (i. 173, 10), yushmâka instead of yushmâkam (vii. 59, 9–10), yâgadhva instead of yâgadhvam (viii. 2, 37) sanctioned both by the Sanhitâ and Pada texts‡.

If then we have such precedents, it may well be asked why we should hesitate to adopt the same expedient, the omission of final m and s, whenever the Vedic metres seem to require it. Professor Bollensen's remark, that Vedic verses cannot be treated to all the licences of Latin scanning§, is hardly a sufficient answer; and he himself, though under a slightly different form, would admit as much, if not more, than has been admitted on this point by Professors Kuhn and Roth. On *à priori* grounds I should by no means feel opposed to the admission of a possible elision of final s or m, or even n; and my only doubt is whether it is really necessary for the proper scanning of Vedic metres. My own opinion has always been, that if we admit on a larger scale what in single words can hardly be doubted by anybody, viz. the pronunciation of two syllables as one, we need

* i. 54, 9; 135, 2; iii. 42, 8; v. 11, 5; vii. 22, 7; viii. 51, 9; 76, 8; 82, 5; ix. 62, 27; 86, 30; x. 167, 1.

† ii. 11, 3; v. 30, 6.

‡ See Bollensen, Orient und Occident, vol. iii. p. 459; Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 199.

§ Orient und Occident, vol. iv. p. 449.

not fall back on the elision of final consonants in order to arrive at a proper scanning of Vedic metres. On this point I shall have to say a few words in conclusion, because I shall frequently avail myself of this licence, for the purpose of righting apparently corrupt verses in the hymns of the Rig-veda; and I feel bound to explain, once for all, why I avail myself of it in preference to other emendations which have been proposed by scholars such as Professors Benfey, Kuhn, Roth, Bollensen, and others.

The merit of having first pointed out some cases where two syllables must be treated as one, belongs, I believe, to Professor Bollensen in his article, 'Zur Herstellung des Veda,' published in Benfey's Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 461. He proposed, for instance, to write hyânấ instead of hiyânấ, ix. 13, 6; dhyânó instead of dhiyânó, viii. 49, 5; sáhyase instead of sáhîyase, i. 71, 4; yânó instead of iyânó, viii. 50, 5, &c. The actual alteration of these words seems to me unnecessary; nor should we think of resorting to such violent measures in Greek where, as far as metrical purposes are concerned, two vowels have not unfrequently to be treated as one.

That iva counts in many passages as one syllable is admitted by everybody. The only point on which I differ is that I do not see why iva, when monosyllabic, should be changed to va, instead of being pronounced quickly, or, to adopt the terminology

of Greek grammarians, by synizesis *. Synizesis is well explained by Greek scholars as a quick pronunciation of two vowels so that neither should be lost, and as different thereby from synalœphe, which means the contraction of two vowels into one †. This synizesis is by no means restricted to iva and a few other words, but seems to me a very frequent expedient resorted to by the ancient *R*ishis.

Originally it may have arisen from the fact that language allows in many cases alternate forms of one or two syllables. As in Greek we have double forms like *ἀλεγεινός* and *ἀλγεινός*, *γαλακτοφάγος* and *γλακτοφάγος*, *πετηνός* and *πτηνός*, *πυκινός* and *πυκνός* ‡, and as in Latin we have the shortening or suppression of vowels carried out on the largest scale §,

---

* Synizesis in Greek applies only to the quick pronunciation of two vowels, if in immediate contact; and not, if separated by consonants. Samprasâra*n*a might seem a more appropriate term, but though the grammatical process designated in Sanskrit by Samprasâra*n*a offers some analogies, it could only by a new definition be applied to the metrical process here intended.

† A. B. p. 835, 30. *ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς μέτροις καὶ ἡ καλουμένη συνεκφώνησις ἣ καὶ συνίζησις λέγεται. Ὅταν γὰρ φωνηέντων ἐπάλληλος γένηται ἡ προφορά, τότε γίνεται ἡ συνίζησις εἰς μίαν συλλαβήν. Διαφέρει δὲ συναλοιφῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραμμάτων ἐστὶ κλοπή, ἡ δὲ χρόνων· καὶ ἡ μὲν συναλοιφή, ὡς λέγεται, φαίνεται, ἡ δὲ οὔ.* Mehlhorn, Griechische Grammatik, § 101. Thus in Νεοπτόλεμος we have synizesis, in Νουπτόλεμος synæresis.

‡ Cf. Mehlhorn, Griechische Grammatik, § 57.

§ See the important chapters on 'Kürzung der Vokale' and

we find in Sanskrit, too, such double forms as prithvî or prithivî, adhi and dhi, api and pi, ava and va. The occurrence of such forms which have nothing to do with metrical considerations, but are perfectly legitimate from a grammatical point of view, would encourage a tendency to treat two syllables—and particularly two short syllables—as one, whenever an occasion arose. There are, besides, in the Vedic Sanskrit a number of forms where, as we saw, long syllables have to be pronounced as two. In some of these cases this pronunciation is legitimate, i. e. it preserves an original dissyllabic form which in course of time had become monosyllabic. In other cases the same process takes place through a mistaken sense of analogy, where we cannot prove that an original dissyllabic form had any existence even in a prehistoric state of language. The occurrence of a number of such alternate forms would naturally leave a general impression in the mind of poets that two short syllables and one long syllable were under certain circumstances interchangeable. So considerable a number of words in which a long syllable has to be pronounced as two syllables has been collected by Professors Kuhn, Bollensen, and

---

'Tilgung der Vokale' in Corssen's 'Aussprache des Lateinischen;' and more especially his remarks on the so-called irrational vowels in Plautus, ibid. vol. ii. p. 70.

others, that no doubt can remain on this subject. Vedic poets, being allowed to change a semivowel into a vowel, were free to say nâsātyâ and nâsatyâ, viii. 5, 32; prithivyâs and prithivyâh; pitroh and pitroh, i. 31, 4. They could separate compound words, and pronounce ghritânnah or ghrita-annah, vii. 3, 1. They could insert a kind of shewa or svarabhakti in words like sâmne or sâmne, viii. 6, 47; dhâmne or dhâmne, viii. 92, 25; arâvnah and arâvnah, ix. 63, 5. They might vary between pânti and pânti, i. 41, 2; yâthana and yâthana, i. 39, 3; nidhâtoh and nidhâtoh, i. 41, 9; tredhâ and tredhâ, i. 34, 8; devâh and devâh (besides devâsah), i. 23, 24; rodasî and rodasî, i. 33, 9; 59, 4; 64, 9; and rodasyoh, i. 33, 5; 59, 2; 117, 10; vi. 24, 3; vii. 6, 2; x. 74, 1*. Need we wonder then if we find that, on the other hand, they allowed themselves to pronounce prithivî as prithivî, i. 191, 6; vii. 34, 7; 99, 3; dhrishnava as dhrishnava, v. 52, 14; suvâna as suvâna? There is no reason why we should change the spelling of suvâna into svâna. The metre itself tells us at once where suvâna is to be pronounced as two or as three syllables. Nor is it possible to believe that those who first handed down and afterwards wrote down the text of the Vedic hymns, should

* Professor Bollensen in some of these passages proposes to read rodasios. In i. 96, 4, no change is necessary if we read visâm. Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. xxii. p. 587.

have been ignorant of that freedom of pronunciation. Why, there is not one single passage in the whole of the ninth Ma*nd*ala, where, as far as I know, suvâna should not be pronounced as dissyllabic, i. e. as s͡ŭvânā; and to suppose that the scholars of India did not know how that superfluous syllable should be removed, is really taking too low an estimate of men like Vyâ*l*i or *S*aunaka.

But if we once admit that in these cases two syllables separated by a single consonant were pronounced as one and were metrically counted as one, we can hardly resist the evidence in favour of a similar pronunciation in a large number of other words, and we shall find that by the admission of this rapid pronunciation, or of what in Plautus we should call irrational vowels, many verses assume at once their regular form without the necessity of admitting the suppression of final s, m, n, or the introduction of other prosodial licences. To my mind the most convincing passages are those where, as in the Atyash*t*i and similar hymns, a poet repeats the same phrase twice, altering only one or two words, but without endeavouring to avoid an excess of syllables which, to our mind, unless we resort to synizesis, would completely destroy the uniformity of the metre. Thus we read:

i. 133, 6. ăpûrŭshăghnō ’prătītă *s*ûră sātvăbhī*h*,
trĭsāptai*h* *s*ûră sātvăbhī*h*.

Here no ’pra must be pronounced with one ictus

only, in order to get a complete agreement between the two iambic diameters.

i. 134, 5. ugrâ isha*n*anta bhurva*n*i,
apâm ishanta bhurva*n*i.

As ishanta never occurs again, I suspect that the original reading was isha*n*anta in both lines, and that in the second line isha*n*anta, pronounced rapidly, was mistaken for ishanta. Is not bhurvá*n*i a locative, corresponding to the datives in vâne which are so frequently used in the sense of infinitives? See note to i. 6, 8, page 34. In i. 138, 3, we must read:

ahe*l*amâna urusa*m*sa sarî bhava,
vâ*g*e-vâ*g*e sarî bhava.

In i. 129, 11,

adhâ hi tvâ *g*anitâ *g*î*g*anad vaso,
rakshoha*n*a*m* tvâ *g*î*g*anad vaso,

we might try to remove the difficulty by omitting vaso at the end of the refrain, but this would be against the general character of these hymns. We want the last word vaso, if possible, at the end of both lines. But, if so, we must admit two cases of synizesis, or, if this seems too clumsy, we must omit tvâ.

I shall now proceed to give a number of other examples in which the same consonantal synizesis seems necessary in order to make the rhythm of the verses perceptible to our ears as it was to the ears of the ancient *R*ishis.

The preposition anu takes synizesis in

i. 127, 1. ghṛitasya vibhrâshṭim anu vashṭi sokishâ. Cf. x. 14, 1.

The preposition abhi:

i. 91, 23. râyo bhâgam sahasâvann abhi yudhya. Here Professor Kuhn changes sahasâvan into sahasvah, which, no doubt, is a very simple and very plausible emendation. But in altering the text of the Veda many things have to be considered, and in our case it might be objected that sahasvah never occurs again as an epithet of Soma. As an invocation sahasvah refers to no deity but Agni, and even in its other cases it is applied to Agni and Indra only. However, I do not by any means maintain that sahasvah could not be applied to Soma, for nearly the same arguments could be used against sahasâvan, if conjecturally put in the place of sahasvah; I only wish to point out how everything ought to be tried first, before we resort in the Veda to conjectural emendations. Therefore, if in our passage there should be any objection to admitting the synizesis in abhi, I should much rather propose synizesis of sahasâvan, than change it into sahasvah. There is synizesis in maha, e. g. i. 133, 6. avar maha indra dâdrihi srudhî nah. Although this verse is quoted by the Prâtisâkhya, Sûtra 522, as one in which the lengthened syllable dhî of srudhî does not occupy the tenth place, and which therefore required special mention, the original poet evidently thought otherwise, and lengthened

the syllable, being a syllable liable to be lengthened, because it occupied the tenth place, and therefore received a peculiar stress.

The preposition pari:

vi. 52, 14. mâ vo va*k*â*m*si pari*k*akshyâ*n*i vo*k*am,
sumneshv id vo antamâ madema.

Here Professor Kuhn (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 197) begins the last pâda with vo*k*am, but this is impossible unless we change the accent of vo*k*am, though even then the separation of the verb from mâ and the accumulation of two verbs in the last line would be objectionable.

Hari is pronounced as hari:

vii. 32, 12. ya indro harivân na dabhanti ta*m* ripa*h*.

ii. 18, 5. â *k*atvâri*ms*atâ haribhir yu*g*âna*h*.

Hence I propose to scan the difficult verse i. 167, 1, as follows:

sahasra*m* ta indra-ûtayo na*h*,
sahasram isho harivo gûrtatamâ*h* *,
sahasra*m* râyo mâdayadhyai,
sahasri*n*a upa no yantu vâ*g*â*h*.

That the final o instead of as is treated as a short syllable we saw before, and in i. 133, 6, we observed that it was liable to synizesis. We see the same in

i. 175, 6. maya ivâpo na t*r*ishyate babhûtha.

v. 61, 16. â ya*g*ñiyâso vav*r*ittana.

---

* As to the scanning of the second line see page cxxxv.

The pragṛihya î of the dual is known in the Veda to be liable in certain cases to Sandhi. If we extend this licence beyond the limits recognized by the Prâtiśâkhya, we might scan

vi. 52, 14. ŭbhē rōdāsy ăpâm năpâk ka mānmā, or we might shorten the î before the a, and admitting synizesis, scan:

ŭbhē rōdăsî ăpâm năpâk kă mānmā.

In iii. 6, 10, we must either admit Sandhi between prắkî and adhvaréva, or contract the first two syllables of adhvaréva.

The o and e of vocatives before vowels, when changed into av or a(y), are liable to synizesis:

iv. 48, 1. vâyăv â kāndrēnă răthēnā (Anushtubh, c.)

iv. 1, 2. să bhrâtăram vărunăm āgnă â văvrītsvā.

The termination avah also, before vowels, seems to count as one syllable in v. 52, 14, dĭvō vâ dhrîshnăvă ōgăsâ, which would render Professor Bollensen's correction (Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 480), dhrishnûogasâ, unnecessary.

Like ava and iva, we find aya and iya, too, in several words liable to be contracted in pronunciation; e. g. vayam, vi. 23, 5; ayam, i. 177, 4; iyam, vii. 66, 8[2]; i. 186, 11 (unless we read vo 'sme); x. 129, 6. Professor Bollensen's proposal to change iyam to îm, and ayam to âm (Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 461), would only cause obscurity, without any adequate gain, while other words would by a similar suppression of vowels or consonants become simply

irrecognizable. In i. 169, 6, for instance, ádha has to be pronounced with one ictus; in vi. 26, 7, sadhavîra is trisyllabic. In vi. 10, 1, we must admit synizesis in adhvaré; in i. 161, 8, either in udakám or in abravîtana; i. 110, 9, in *r*ibhumấn; viii. 79, 4, in divá*h*; v. 4, 6, in n*r*itama (unless we read so 'gne); i. 164, 17, in pará*h*; vi. 15, 14, in pấvaka; i. 191, 6; vii. 34, 7; 99, 3, in p*r*ithivî́; ii. 20, 8, in púra*h*; vi. 10, 1, in prayatí; vi. 17, 7, in b*r*ihát; ix. 19, 6, in bhiyásam; i. 133, 6, in mahá*h*; ii. 28, 6; iv. 1, 2; vi. 75, 18, in varu*n*a; iii. 30, 21, in v*r*ishabha; vii. 41, 6, in vâ*g*ína*h*; ii. 43, 2, in *s*í*s*umatî́*h*; vi. 51, 2, in sanutár; vi. 18, 12, in sthávirasya, &c.

These remarks will, I hope, suffice in order to justify the principles by which I have been guided in my treatment of the text and in my translation of the Rig-veda. I know I shall seem to some to have been too timid in retaining whatever can possibly be retained in the traditional text of these ancient hymns, while others will look upon the emendations which I have suggested as unpardonable temerity. Let everything be weighed in the just scales of argument. Those who argue for victory, and not for truth, can have no hearing in our court. There is too much serious work to be done to allow time for wrangling or abuse. Any dictionary will supply strong words to those who condescend to such warfare, but strong argu-

ments require honest labour, sound judgment, and, above all, a genuine love of truth.

The second volume, which I am now preparing for Press, will contain the remaining hymns addressed to the Maruts. The notes will necessarily have to be reduced to smaller dimensions, but they must always constitute the more important part in a translation or, more truly, in a deciphering of Vedic hymns.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

PARKS END, OXFORD:
March, 1869.

FIRST BOOK.

HYMNS TO THE MARUTS.

Ma*nd*ala I, Sûkta 6.

Ash*t*aka I, Adhyâya 1, Varga 11–12.

1. Yuñ*g*ánti bradhnám arushám *k*árantam pári tasthúsha*h*, ró*k*ante ro*k*anẫ diví.

2. Yuñ*g*ánti asya kẫmyâ hárî (íti) ví-pakshasâ ráthe, só*n*â dh*r*ish*n*ű (íti) n*ri*-vẫhasâ.

3. Ketúm k*rin*ván aketáve pé*s*a*h* maryâ*h* ape*s*áse, sám ushát-bhi*h* a*g*âyathâ*h*.

4. Ất áha svadhẫm ánu púna*h* garbha-tvám â-îriré, dádhânâ*h* nẫma ya*g*ñíyam.

---

1. Wilson: The circumstationed (inhabitants of the three worlds) associate with (Indra), the mighty (Sun), the indestructive (fire), the moving (wind), and the lights that shine in the sky.

Benfey: Die rothe Sonne schirr'n sie an, die wandelt um die stehenden, Strahlen strahlen am Himmel auf.

Langlois: Placés autour du (foyer, les hommes) préparent le char (du dieu) brillant, pur et rapide; (cependant) brillent dans le ciel les feux (du matin).

2. Wilson: They (the charioteers) harness to his car his two desirable coursers, placed on either hand, bay-coloured, high-spirited, chief-bearing.

Benfey: Die lieben Falben schirren sie zu beiden Seiten des Wagens an, braune, kühne, held-tragende.

Langlois: A ce char sont attelés ses deux coursiers, beaux, brillants, impétueux, rougeâtres, et dignes de porter un héros.

3. Wilson: Mortals, you owe your (daily) birth (to such

Hymn to Indra and the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Those who stand around him while he moves on, harness the bright red steed;[1] the lights in heaven shine forth.[2]

2. They harness to the chariot on each side his (Indra's)[1] two favourite bays, the brown, the bold, who can carry the hero.

3. Thou who createst light where there was no light, and form, O men![1] where there was no form, hast been born together with the dawns.[2]

4. Thereafter[1] they (the Maruts), according to their wont,[2] assumed again the form of new-born babes,[3] taking their sacred name.

---

an Indra), who with the rays of the morning, gives sense to the senseless, and to the formless, form.

Benfey: Licht machend—Männer!—das Dunkele und kenntlich das Unkenntliche, entsprangst du mit dem Morgenroth.

Langlois: O mortels, (voyez-le) mettant l'ordre dans la confusion, donnant la forme au chaos. O Indra, avec les rayons du jour tu viens de naître.

4. Wilson: Thereafter, verily, those who bear names invoked in holy rites, (the Maruts,) having seen the rain about to be engendered, instigated him to resume his embryo condition (in the clouds).

Benfey: Sodann von freien Stücken gleich erregen wieder Schwangerschaft die heilgen Namen tragenden.

Langlois: A peine la formule de l'offrande a-t-elle été prononcée, que les (Marouts), dont le nom mérite d'être invoqué dans les sacrifices, viennent exciter (de leur souffle) le feu à peine sorti du sein (de l'aranî).

5. Vîlú *k*it ârugatnú-bhi*h* gúhâ *k*it indra váhni-bhi*h*, ávinda*h* usríyâ*h* ánu.

6. Deva-yánta*h* yáthâ matím á*kk*ha vidât-vasum gíra*h*, mahấm anûshata *s*rutám.

7. Índre*n*a sám hí d*r*íkshase sam-*g*agmân*â*h ábibhyushâ, mandû (íti) samâná-var*k*asâ.

8. Anavadyaí*h* abhídyu-bhi*h* makh*â*h sáhasvat ar*k*ati, ga*n*aí*h* índrasya kấmyai*h*.

9. Áta*h* pari-*g*man ấ gahi div*â*h vâ ro*k*anất ádhi, sám asmin *r*iñ*g*ate gíra*h*.

---

5. Wilson: Associated with the conveying Maruts, the traversers of places difficult of access, thou, Indra, hast discovered the cows hidden in the cave.

Benfey: Mit den die Festen brechenden, den Stürmenden fandst, Indra, du die Kühe in der Grotte gar.

Langlois: Avec ces (Marouts), qui brisent tout rempart et supportent (la nue) Indra, tu vas, du sein de la caverne, délivrer les vaches (célestes).

6. Wilson: The reciters of praises praise the mighty (troop of Maruts), who are celebrated, and conscious of the power of bestowing wealth in like manner as they (glorify) the counsellor (Indra).

Benfey: Nach ihrer Einsicht verherrlichend besingen Sänger den Schätzeherrn, den berühmten, gewaltigen.

Langlois: Voilà pourquoi l'hymne qui chante les dieux célèbre aussi le grand (dieu des vents), qui assiste (Indra) de ses conseils, et découvre les heureux trésors.

7. Wilson: May you be seen, Maruts, accompanied by the undaunted (Indra); both rejoicing, and of equal splendour.

5. Thou, O Indra, with the swift Maruts[1] who break even through the stronghold,[2] hast found even in their hiding-place the bright cows[3] (the days).

6. The pious singers[1] (the Maruts) have, after their own mind,[2] shouted towards the giver of wealth, the great, the glorious (Indra).

7. Mayest thou[1] (host of the Maruts) be verily seen[2] coming together with Indra, the fearless: you are both happy-making, and of equal splendour.

8. With the beloved hosts of Indra, with the blameless, heavenward-tending (Maruts), the sacrificer[1] cries aloud.

9. From yonder, O traveller (Indra), come hither, or down from the light of heaven;[1] the singers all yearn for it;—

BENFEY: So lass mit Indra denn vereint, dem furchtlosen, erblicken dich, beide erfreu'nd und glanzesgleich.

LANGLOIS: Avec l'intrépide Indra, (ô dieu,) on te voit accourir; tous deux pleins de bonheur, tous deux également resplendissants.

8. WILSON: This rite is performed in adoration of the powerful Indra, along with the irreproachable, heavenward-tending, and amiable bands (of the Maruts).

BENFEY: Durch Indra's liebe Schaaren, die untadligen, himmelstürmenden, strahlet das Opfer mächtiglich.

LANGLOIS: Notre sacrifice confond, dans un homage aussi empressé, Indra et la troupe (des Marouts) bienfaisante, irréprochable, et brillante des feux (du matin).

9. WILSON: Therefore circumambient (troop of Maruts), come hither, whether from the region of the sky, or from the solar sphere; for, in this rite, (the priest) fully recites your praises.

BENFEY: Von hier, oder vom Himmel komm ob dem Æther, Umkreisender! zu dir streben die Lieder all.

10. Itá*h* vâ sâtím ímahe divá*h* vâ pấrthivât ádhi, índram mahá*h* vâ rá*g*asa*h*.

Langlois: (Dieu des vents), qui parcours le monde, viens vers nous, ou de ton séjour habituel, ou de la demeure céleste de la lumière; notre voix aujourd'hui t'appelle.

10. Wilson: We invoke Indra,—whether he come from this earthly region, or from the heaven above, or from the vast firmament,—that he may give (us) wealth.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Ka*n*va, the son of Ghora. The metre is Gâyatrî throughout.

Verse 1, note [1]. The poet begins with a somewhat abrupt description of a sunrise. Indra is taken as the god of the bright day, whose steed is the sun, and whose companions the Maruts, or the storm-gods. Arushá, meaning originally red, is used as a proper name of the horse or of the rising sun, though it occurs more frequently as the name of the red horses or flames of Agni, the god of fire, and also of the morning light. In our passage, Arushá, a substantive, meaning the red of the morning, has taken bradhná as an adjective,—bradhná meaning, as far as can be made out, bright in general, though, as it is especially applied to the Soma-juice, perhaps bright-brown or yellow. Names of colour are difficult to translate from one language into another, for their shades vary, and withdraw themselves from sharp definition. We shall meet with this difficulty again and again in the Veda.

The following passages will illustrate the principal meaning of arushá, and justify the translation here adopted.

Arushá as an Adjective.

Arushá is used as an adjective in the sense of red:

vii. 97, 6. tám *s*agmấsa*h* arushấsa*h* á*s*vâ*h* b*r*íhaspátim saha-vấha*h* vahanti,—nábha*h* ná rûpám arushám vásânâ*h*.

10. Or we ask Indra for help from here, or from heaven, above the earth, or from the great sky.

Benfey: Von hier, oder vom Himmel ob der Erde begehren Spende wir, oder, Indra! aus weiter Luft.

Langlois: Nous invoquons aussi la libéralité d'Indra; (qu'il nous entende), soit d'ici-bas, soit de l'air qui enveloppe la terre, soit du vaste séjour de la lumière.

Powerful red horses, drawing together draw him, B*r*ihaspati: horses clothed in red colour like the sky.

iii. 1, 4. *s*vetám *g*a*g*ñânám arushám mahi-tvā́.

Agni, the white, when born; the red, by growth.

iii. 15, 3. k*r*ish*n*ā́su agne arushá*h* ví bhâhi.

Shine, O Agni, red among the dark ones.

iii. 31, 21. antár (íti) k*r*ish*n*ā́n arushaí*h* dhā́ma-bhi*h* gât.

He (Indra) went among the dark ones with his red companions.

vi. 27, 7. yásya gā́vau arushā́.

He (Indra) whose two cows are red.

vii. 75, 6. práti dyutânā́m arushā́sa*h* á*s*vâ*h* *k*itrā́*h* ad*r*i*s*ran ushásam váhanta*h*.

The red horses, the beautiful, were seen bringing to us the bright dawn.

v. 43, 12. híra*n*ya-var*n*am arushám sapema.

Let us worship the gold-coloured, the red, i. e. B*r*ihaspati (the fire).

i. 118, 5. pári vâm á*s*vâ*h* vápusha*h* pata*n*gā́*h* váya*h* vahantu arushā́*h* abhī́ke.

May the winged beautiful horses, may the red birds bring you (the A*s*vins) back near to us.

iv. 43, 6. gh*r*i*n*ā́ váya*h* arushā́sa*h* pári gman.

The red birds (of the A*s*vins) came back by day.

v. 73, 5. pári vâm arushā́*h* váya*h* gh*r*i*n*ā́ varante â-tápa*h*.

The red birds shield you (the A*s*vins) around by day from the heat.

i. 36, 9. ví dhûmám agne arushám miyedhya sri*g*á.

Send off, O Agni, the red smoke, thou who art worthy of sacrificial food.

vii. 3, 3. á*kkh*a dyắm arushá*h* dhûmá*h* eti.

The red smoke goes up to the sky.

vii. 16, 3. út dhûmắsa*h* arushắsa*h* divi-sprísa*h*.

The clouds of red smoke went up touching the sky.

x. 45, 7. íyarti dhûmám arushám.

He (Agni) rouses the red smoke.

i. 141, 8. dyắm áṅgebhi*h* arushébhi*h* îyate.

He (Agni) goes to the sky with his red limbs.

ii. 2, 8. sá*h* idhâná*h* ushása*h* rắmyâ*h* ánu svã*h* ná dîdet arushé*n*a bhânúnâ.

He (Agni), lit after the lovely dawns, shone like the sky with his red splendour.

iii. 29, 6. ásva*h* ná vâ*g*ī́ arushá*h* vániesu ắ.

Like a stallion, the red one (Agni) appears in the wood.

iv. 58, 7. arushá*h* ná vâ*g*ī́ kắsh*th*â*h* bhindán.

Like a red stallion, breaking the bounds.

i. 114, 5. divá*h* varâhám arushám.

Him (Rudra), the boar of the sky, the red.

v. 59, 5. ásvâ*h*-iva ít arushắsa*h*.

Like red horses, (O Maruts.)

v. 12, 2. *r*itám sapâmi arushásya vrísh*n*a*h*.

I follow the rite of the red hero (Agni). The meaning here assigned to vríshan will be explained hereafter, see note to i. 85, 12.

v. 12, 6. *r*itám sá*h* pâti arushásya vrísh*n*a*h*.

He observes the rite of the red hero (Agni).

vi. 8, 1. prikshásya vrísh*n*a*h* arushásya nú sáha*h* prá nú vo*k*am.

I celebrate the power of the quick red hero (Agni Vaisvâ-nara).

vi. 48, 6. syâvắsu arushá*h* vríshâ.

In the dark (nights) the red hero (Agni).

iii. 7, 5. *g*ânánti vrísh*n*a*h* arushásya sévam.

They know the treasure of the red hero (of Agni).

In one passage vríshan arushá is intended for fire in the shape of lightning.

x. 89, 9. ní amítreshu vadhám indra túmram v*r*íshan v*r*íshâ*n*am arushám *s*i*s*îhi.

Whet, O strong Indra, the heavy strong red weapon, against the enemies.

x. 43, 9. út *g*âyatâm para*s*ú*h* *g*yótishâ sahá—ví ro*k*atâm arushá*h* bhânúnâ *s*ú*k*i*h*.

May the axe (the thunderbolt) appear with the light—may the red one blaze forth, bright with splendour.

x. 1, 6. arushá*h* *g*âtá*h* padé í*l*âyâ*h*.

Agni, born red in the place of the altar.

vi. 3, 6. náktam yá*h* îm arushá*h* yá*h* dívâ.

He (Agni) being red by night and by day.

x. 20, 9. k*r*ish*n*á*h* *s*vetá*h* arushá*h* yấma*h* asya bradhná*h* *r*i*g*rá*h* utá *s*ó*n*a*h*.

His (Agni's) path is black, white, red, bright, reddish, and yellow.

Here it is extremely difficult to keep all the colours distinct.

Arushá is frequently applied to Soma, particularly in the 9th Ma*nd*ala. There we read:

ix. 8, 6. arushá*h* hári*h*.

ix. 71, 7. arushá*h* divá*h* kaví*h* v*r*íshâ.

ix. 74, 1. vâ*g*ī́ arushá*h*.

ix. 82, 1. arushá*h* v*r*íshâ hári*h*.

ix. 89, 3. hárim arushám.

ix. 111, 1. arushá*h* hári*h*. See also ix. 25, 5; 61, 21. In ix. 72, 1, arushá seems used as a substantive in the sense of red-horse.

Arushá as an Appellative.

Arushá is used as an appellative, and in the following senses:

1. The one red-horse of the Sun, the two or more red-horses of Agni.

i. 6, 1. yuñ*g*ánti bradhnám arushám.

They yoke the bright red-horse (the Sun).

i. 94, 10. yát áyukthâ*h* arushấ róhitâ ráthe.

When thou (Agni) hast yoked the two red-horses and the two ruddy horses to the chariot.

i. 146, 2. rihánti ûdhah arushâsah asya.

His (Agni's) red-horses lick the udder.

ii. 10, 2. sruyấh agníh—hávam me—syâvấ rátham vahatah róhitâ vâ utá arushấ.

Mayest thou, Agni, hear my call, whether the two black, or the two ruddy, or the two red-horses carry you.

Here three kinds of colours are clearly distinguished, and an intentional difference is made between róhita and arushá.

iv. 2, 3. arushấ yugânáh.

Agni having yoked the two red-horses.

iv. 6, 9. táva tyé agne harítah—róhitâsah—arushâsah vríshanah.

To thee (Agni) belong these bays, these ruddy, these red-horses, the stallions.

Here, again, three kinds of horses are distinguished—Haríts, Róhitas, and Arushás.

viii. 34, 17. yé rigrấh vấta-ramhasah arushâsah raghu-syádah.

Here arushá may be the subject and the rest adjectives; but it is also possible to take all the words as adjectives, referring them to âsú in the next verse. The fact that rigrá likewise expresses a peculiar red colour is no objection, as may be seen from i. 6, 1; 94, 10.

vii. 16, 2. sáh yogate arushấ visvá-bhogasâ.

May he (Agni) yoke the two all-nourishing red-horses.

vii. 42, 2. yuṅkshvá—harítah rohítah ka yé vâ sádman arushấh.

Yoke (O Agni) the bays, and the ruddy horses, or the red-horses which are in thy stable.

2. The cloud, represented as the enemy of Indra, as retaining, like Vritra, the waters which Indra and the Maruts wish to liberate.

i. 85, 5. utá arushásya ví syanti dhấrâh.

(When you go to the battle, O Maruts), the streams of the red enemy flow off.

v. 56, 7. utá syáh vâgî arusháh.

This strong red-horse,—meant for the cloud, as it would seem; but possibly, too, for one of the horses of the Maruts.

Arushá as the Proper Name of a Solar Deity.

Besides the passages in which arushá is used either as an adjective, in the sense of red, or as an appellative, meaning some kind of horse, there are others in which, as I pointed out in my Essay on Comparative Mythology*, Arushá occurs as a proper name, as the name of a solar deity, as the bright deity of the morning (*Morgenroth*). My interpretation of some of these passages has been contested, nor shall I deny that in some of them a different interpretation is possible, and that in looking for traces of Arushá, as a Vedic deity, representing the morning or the rising sun, and containing, as I endeavoured to show, the first germs of the Greek name of Eros, I may have seen more indications of the presence of that deity in the Veda than others would feel inclined to acknowledge. Yet in going over the same evidence again, I think that even verses which for a time I felt inclined to surrender, yield a better sense if we take the word arushá which occurs in them as a substantive, as the name of a matutinal deity, than if we look upon it as an adjective or a mere appellative. It might be said that wherever this arushá occurs, apparently as the name of a deity, we ought to supply Agni or Indra or Sûrya. This is true to a certain extent, for the sun, or the light of the morning, or the bright sky are no doubt the substance and subject-matter of this deity. But the same applies to many other names originally intended for these conceptions, but which, nevertheless, in the course of time, became independent names of independent deities. In our passage i. 6, 1, yuñ*g*ánti bradhnám arushám, we may retain for arushá the appellative power of steed or red-steed, but if we could ask the poet what he meant by this red-steed, or if we ask ourselves what we can possibly understand by it, the answer would be, the morning sun, or the light of the morning. In other passages, however, this meaning of red-steed is no longer applicable, and we can only translate Arushá by the Red, understanding by this name the deity of the morning or of the morning sun.

* Chips from a German Workshop, 2nd ed., vol. ii. p. 137 seq.

vii. 71, 1. ápa svásu*h* ushása*h* nák *g*ihîte ri*n*ákti krish*n*í*h* arushā́ya pánthâm.

The Night retires from her sister, the Dawn; the Dark one yields the path to the Red one, i. e. the red morning.

Here Arushá shares the same half-mythological character as Ushas, and where we should speak of dawn and morning as mere periods of time, the Vedic poet speaks of them as living and intelligent beings, half human, half divine, as powers of nature capable of understanding his prayers, and powerful enough to reward his praises. I do not think therefore that we need hesitate to take Arushá in this passage as a proper name of the morning, or of the morning sun, to whom the dark goddess, the Night, yields the path when he rises in the East.

vi. 49, 2. divá*h* *s*ísum sáhasa*h* sûnúm agním ya*g*ñásya ketúm arushám yá*g*adhyai.

To worship the child of Dyu, the son of strength, Agni, the light of the sacrifice, the Red one (Arushá).

In this verse, where the name of Agni actually occurs, it would be easier than in the preceding verse to translate arushá as an adjective, referring it either to Agni, the god of fire, or to ya*g*ñásya ketúm, the light of the sacrifice. I had myself yielded* so far to these considerations that I gave up my former translation, and rendered this verse by 'to worship Agni, the child of the sky, the son of strength, the red light of the sacrifice†.' But I return to my original translation, and I see in Arushá an independent name, intended, no doubt, for Agni, as the representative of the rising sun and, at the same time, of the sacrificial fire of the morning, but nevertheless as having in the mind of the poet a personality of its own. He is the child of Dyu, originally the offspring of heaven. He is the son of strength, originally generated by the strong rubbing of the ara*n*is, i. e. the wood for kindling fire. He is the light of the sacrifice, whether as reminding man that the time for the morning sacrifice has come, or as himself lighting the sacrifice on the Eastern altar of the sky. He is Arushá, originally as

* Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. p. 139.

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1867, p. 204.

clothed in bright red colour, but gradually changed into the representative of the morning. We see at once, if examining these various expressions, how some of them, like the child of Dyu, are easily carried away into mythology, while others, such as the son of strength, or the light of the sacrifice, resist that unconscious metamorphosis. That Arushá was infected by mythology, that it had approached at least that point where *nomina* become changed into *numina*, we see by the verse immediately following:

vi. 49, 3. arushásya duhitárâ vírûpe (íti ví-rûpe) st*rí*-bhi*h* anyấ pipi*s*é sấra*h* anyấ.

There are two different daughters of Arushá; the one is clad in stars, the other belongs to the sun, or is the wife of Svar.

Here Arushá is clearly a mythological being, like Agni or Savitar or Vai*s*vânara; and if Day and Night are called his daughters, he, too, can hardly have been conceived otherwise than as endowed with human attributes, as the child of Dyu, as the father of Day and Night, and not as a mere period of time, not as a mere cause or effect.

iv. 15, 6. tám árvantam ná sânasím arushám ná divá*h* *s*í*s*um marm*rig*yánte divé-dive.

They trim the fire day by day, like a strong horse, like Arushá, the child of Dyu.

Here, too, Arushá, the child of Dyu, has to be taken as a personal character, and, if the ná after arushám is right, a distinction is clearly made between Agni, the sacrificial fire, to whom the hymn is addressed, and Arushá, the child of heaven, the pure and bright morning, here used as a simile for the cleaning or trimming of the fire on the altar.

v. 47, 3. arushá*h* su-par*n*á*h*.

Arushá, the morning sun, with beautiful wings.

The feminine Árushî as an Adjective.

Árushî, like arushá, is used as an adjective, in the same sense as arushá, i. e. red:

iii. 55, 11. *s*yấvî *k*a yát árushî *k*a svásârau.

As the dark and the red are sisters.

i. 92, 1 and 2. gấva*h* árushî*h* and árushî*h* gấ*h*.

The red cows of the dawn.

i. 92, 2. rúsantam bhânúm árushîh asisrayuh.

The red dawns obtained bright splendour.

Here ushásah, the dawns, occur in the same line, so that we may take árushîh either as an adjective, referring to the dawns, or as a substantive, as a name of the dawn or of her cows.

i. 30, 21. ásve ná kitre arushi.

Thou bright, red dawn, thou, like a mare.

Here, too, the vocative arushi is probably to be taken as an adjective, particularly if we consider the next following verse:

iv. 52, 2. ásvâ-iva kitrấ árushî mâtấ gávâm ritá-varî sákhâ abhût asvínoh ushấh.

The dawn, bright and red, like a mare, the mother of the cows (days), the never-failing, she became the friend of the Asvins.

x. 5, 5. saptá svásrîh árushîh.

The seven red sisters.

The feminine Árushî as a Substantive.

If used as a substantive, árushî seems to mean the dawn. It is likewise used as a name of the horses of Agni, Indra, and Soma; also as a name for mare in general.

It means dawn in x. 8, 3, though the text points here so clearly to the dawn, and the very name of dawn is mentioned so immediately after, that this one passage seems hardly sufficient to establish the use of árushî as a recognized name of the dawn. Other passages, however, would likewise gain in perspicuity, if we took árushî by itself as a name of the dawn, just as we had to admit in several passages arushá by itself as a name of the morning. Cf. i. 71, 1.

Árushî means the horses of Agni, in i. 14, 12:

yukshvá hí árushîh ráthe harítah deva rohítah.

Yoke, O god (Agni), the red-horses to the chariot, the bays, the ruddy.

i. 72, 10. prá nîkîh agne árushîh agânan.

They knew the red-horses, Agni, coming down.

In viii. 69, 5, árushî refers to the horses of Indra, whether as a noun or an adjective, is somewhat doubtful:

ā́ hárayah sasrigrire árushîh.

The bay horses were let loose, the red-horses; or, possibly, thy bright red-horses were let loose.

Soma, as we saw, was frequently spoken of as arusháh hárih.

In ix. 111, 2, tridhā́tu-bhih árushîbhih seems to refer to the same red-horses of Soma, though this is not quite clear.

The passages where árushî means simply a mare, without any reference to colour, are viii. 68, 18, and viii. 55, 3.

It is curious that Arushá, which in the Veda means red, should in its Zendic form aurusha, mean white. That in the Veda it means red and not white is shown, for instance, by x. 20, 9, where svetá, the name for white, is mentioned by the side of arushá. Most likely arushá meant originally brilliant, and became fixed with different shades of brilliancy in Sanskrit and Persian. Arushá presupposes a form ar-vas, and is derived from a root ar in the sense of running or rushing. See Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. pp. 135, 137.

Having thus explained the different meanings of arushá and árushî in the Rig-veda, I feel it incumbent, at least for once, to explain the reasons why I differ from the classification of Vedic passages as given in the Dictionary published by Messrs. Boehtlingk and Roth. Here, too, the passages in which arushá is used as an adjective are very properly separated from those in which it appears as a substantive. To begin with the first, it is said that 'arushá means ruddy, the colour of Agni and his horses; he (Agni) himself appears as a red-horse.' In support of this, the following passages are quoted:

iii. 1, 4. ávardhayan su-bhágam saptá yahvī́h svetám gagńânám arushám mahi-tvā́, sísum ná gâtám abhí âruh ásvâh. Here, however, it is only said that Agni was born brilliant-white*, and grew red, that the horses came to him as they come to a new-born foal. Agni himself is not called a red-horse.

iii. 7, 5. Here, again, vríshnah arushásya is no doubt

* See v. 1, 4. svetáh vâgí gâyate ágre áhnâm. x. 1, 6. arusháh gâtáh padé ílâyâh.

meant for Agni. But vríshan by itself does not mean horse, though it is added to different names of horses to qualify them as male horses; cf. vii. 69, 1. ấ vâm ráthah vrísha-bhih yâtu ásvaih, may your chariot come near with powerful horses, i. e. with stallions. See note to i. 85, 12. We are therefore not justified in translating arushá vríshan by red-horse, but only by the red male, or the red hero.

In iii. 31, 3, agníh gagñe guhvấ régamânah maháh putrấn arushásya pra-yákshe, I do not venture to say who is meant by the maháh putrấn arushásya, whether Âdityas or Maruts, but hardly the sons of Agni, as Agni himself is mentioned as only born. But, even if it were so, the father of these sons (putra) could hardly be intended here for a horse.

iv. 6, 9. tvá va tyé agne harítah ghrita-snấh róhitâsah rigu-áñkah su-áñkah, arushấsah vríshanah rigu-mushkấh. Here, so far from Agni being represented as a red-horse, his different horses, the Haríts or bays, the Róhitas or ruddy, and the arushấsah vríshanah, the red stallions, are distinctly mentioned. Here vríshan may be translated by stallion, instead of simply by male, because arushá is here a substantive, the name of a horse.

v. 1, 5. gánishta hí gényah ágre áhnâm hitáh hitéshu arusháh váneshu. Here arusháh is simply an adjective, red, referring to Agni who is understood throughout the hymn to be the object of praise. He is said to be kind to those who are kind to him, and to be red in the woods, i. e. brilliant in the wood which he consumes; cf. iii. 29, 6. Nothing is said about his equine nature.

In v. 12, 2 and 6, vi. 48, 6, we have again simply arushá vríshan, which does not mean the red-horse, but the red male, the red hero, i. e. Agni.

In vi. 49, 2, diváh sísum sáhasah sûnúm agním yagñásya ketúm arushám yágadhyai, there is no trace of Agni being conceived as a horse. He is called the child of the sky or of Dyu, the son of strength (who is produced by strong rubbing of wood), the light or the beacon of the sacrifice, and lastly Arushá, which, for reasons stated above, I take to be used here as a name.

Next follow the passages in which, according to Professor

Roth, arushá is an adjective, is said to be applied to the horses, cows, and other teams of the gods, particularly of the dawn, the Asvins, and Brihaspati.

i. 118, 5. pári vâm ásvâh vápushah patangā́h, váyah vahantu arushā́h abhī́ke. Here we find the váyah arushā́h of the Asvins, which it is better to translate by red birds, as immediately before the winged horses are mentioned. In fact, whenever arushá is applied to the vehicle of the Asvins, it is to be understood of these red birds, iv. 43, 6.

In i. 92, 1 and 2 (not 20), árushî occurs three times, referring twice to the cows of the dawn, once to the dawn herself.

In iv. 15, 6, tám árvantam ná sânasím arushám ná diváh sisum marmrigyánte divé-dive, arushá does not refer to the horse or any other animal of Agni. The verse speaks of a horse by way of comparison only, and says that the sacrificers clean or trim Agni, the fire, as people clean a horse. We cannot join arushám in the next pâda with árvantam in the preceding pâda, for the second ná would then be without any construction. The construction is certainly not easy, but I think it is safer to translate: they trim him (Agni), day by day, as they clean a strong horse, as they clean Arushá, the child of Dyu. In fact, as far as I know, arushá is never used as the name of the one single horse belonging to Agni, but always of two or more.

In iii. 31, 21, antár (íti) krishnā́n arushaíh dhā́ma-bhih gât, dhā́ma-bhih is said to mean flames of lightning. But dhā́man in the Rig-veda does not mean flames, and it seems better to translate, with thy red companions, scil. the Maruts.

That arushá in one or two passages means the red cloud, is true. But in x. 43, 9, arushá refers to the thunderbolt mentioned in the same verse; and in i. 114, 5, everything refers to Rudra, and not to a red cloud, in the proper sense of the word.

Further on, where the meanings attributable to árushî in the Veda are collected, it is said that árushî means a red mare, also the teams of Agni and Ushas. Now, here, surely, a distinction should have been made between those

passages in which árushî means a real horse, and those where it expresses the imaginary steeds of Agni. The former, it should be observed, occur in one Mandala only, and in places of somewhat doubtful authority, in viii. 55, 3, a Vâlakhilya hymn, and in viii. 68, 18, a dânastuti or panegyric. Besides, no passage is given where árushî means the horses of the dawn, and I doubt whether such a passage exists, while the verse where árushî is really used for the horses of Indra, is not mentioned at all. Lastly, two passages are set apart where árushî is supposed to mean flames. Now, it may be perfectly true that the red-horses of Agni are meant for flames, just as the red-horses of Indra may be the rays of the sun. But, in that case, the red-horses of Agni should always have been thus translated, or rather interpreted, and not in one passage only. In ix. 111, 2, árushî is said to mean flames, but no further light is thrown upon that very difficult passage.

Verse 1, note [2]. A similar expression occurs iii. 61, 5, where it is said of Ushas, the dawn, that she lighted the lights in the sky, prá rokanắ ruruke ranvá-sandrik.

Verse 2, note [1]. Although no name is given, the pronoun asya clearly refers to Indra, for it is he to whom the two bays belong. The next verse, therefore, must likewise be taken as addressed to Indra, and not to the sun or the morning-red, spoken of as a horse in the first verse.

Verse 3, note [1]. The vocative maryâh, which I have translated by O men, had evidently become a mere exclamation at a very early time. Even in our passage it is clear that the poet does not address any men in particular, for he addresses Indra, nor is marya used in the general sense of men. It means males, or male offspring. It sounds more like some kind of asseveration or oath, like the Latin *mehercle*, or like the English O ye powers, and it is therefore quoted as a nipâta or particle in the Vâgasan. Prâtis. ii. 16. It certainly cannot be taken as addressed to the Maruts, though the Maruts are the subject of the next verse.

Verse 3, note [2]. Ushádbhi*h*, an instrumental plural which attracted the attention of the author of the Vârttika to Pâ*n*. vii. 4, 48. It occurs but once, but the regular form, ushobhi*h*, does not occur at all in the Rig-veda. The same grammarian mentions mâs, month, as changing the final s of its base into d before bhis. This, too, is confirmed by Rv. ii. 24, 5, where mâdbhí*h* occurs. Two other words, svavas, offering good protection, and svatavas, of independent strength, mentioned together as liable to the same change, do not occur with bhi*h* in the Rig-veda, but the forms svavadbhi*h* and svatavadbhi*h* probably occurred in some other Vedic writings. Svatavadbhya*h* has been pointed out by Professor Aufrecht in the Vâ*g*asan. Sanhitâ xxiv. 16, and svatavobhya*h* in *S*atap. Br. ii. 5, 1, 14. That the nom. svavân, which is always trisyllabic, is not to be divided into sva-vân, as proposed by *S*âkalya, but into su-avân, is implied by Vârttika to Pâ*n*. viii. 4, 48, and distinctly stated in the Siddhânta-Kaumudî. That the final n of the nom. su-avân disappeared before semi-vowels is confirmed by the *S*âkala-prâti*s*âkhya, Sûtra 287; see also Vâ*g*asan. Prâti*s*. iii. Sûtra 135 (Weber, Ind. Stud. vol. iv. p. 206). On the proper division of su-avas, see Aufrecht, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. xiii. p. 499.

Verse 4, note [1]. Ât must here take vyûha and be pronounced as an iambus. This is exceptional with ât, but there are at least two other passages where the same pronunciation is necessary. i. 148, 4. ất ro*k*ate váne ấ vi-bhấ-vâ, though in the line immediately following it is monosyllabic. Also in v. 7, 10. ất agne ápri*n*ata*h*.

Verse 4, note [2]. Svadhấ, literally one's own place, afterwards, one's own nature. It was a great triumph for the science of Comparative Philology that, long before the existence of such a word as svadhâ in Sanskrit was known, it should have been postulated by Professor Benfey in his Griechische Wurzel-lexicon, published in 1839, and in the appendix of 1842. Svadhấ was known, it is true, in the ordinary Sanskrit, but there it only occurred as an exclamation used on presenting an oblation to the manes. It

was also explained to mean food offered to deceased ancestors, or to be the name of a personification of Mâyâ or worldly illusion, or of a nymph. But Professor Benfey, with great ingenuity, postulated for Sanskrit a noun svadhấ, as corresponding to the Greek ἔθος and the German *sitte*, O. H. G. *sit-u*, Gothic *sid-u*. The noun svadhấ has since been discovered in the Veda, where it occurs very frequently; and its true meaning in many passages where native tradition had entirely misunderstood it, has really been restored by means of its etymological identification with the Greek ἔθος or ἦθος. See Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 134, vol. xii. p. 158.

The expressions ánu svadhẩm and svadhẩm ánu are of frequent occurrence. They mean, according to the nature or character of the persons spoken of, and may be translated by as usual, or according to a person's wont. Thus in our passage we may translate, The Maruts are born again, i. e. as soon as Indra appeared with the dawn, according to their wont; they are always born as soon as Indra appears, for such is their nature.

i. 165, 5. índra svadhẩm ánu hí na*h* babhū́tha.

For, Indra, according to thy wont, thou art ours.

viii. 20, 7. svadhẩm ánu *s*ríyam nára*h*—váhante.

According to their wont, the men (the Maruts) carry splendour.

viii. 88, 5. ánu svadhẩm vavakshitha.

Thou hast grown (Indra) according to thy nature.

iv. 33, 6. ánu svadhẩm *r*ibháva*h* *g*agmu*h* etẩm.

According to their nature, the *R*ibhus went to her, scil. the cow; or, according to this their nature, they came.

iv. 52, 6. úsha*h* ánu svadhẩm ava.

Dawn, help! as thou art wont.

i. 33, 11. ánu svadhẩm aksharan ẩpa*h* asya.

As usual, or according to his nature, i. e. his strength, the waters flowed.

i. 88, 6. âsâm ánu svadhẩm.

According to the nature of these libations.

vii. 56, 13. ánu svadhẩm ẩyudhai*h* yá*kkh*amânâ*h*.

According to their nature, stretching forth with their weapons.

iii. 51, 11. yá*h* te ánu svadhấm ásat suté ní ya*kkh*a tanvẫm.

Direct thy body to that libation which is according to thy nature, or better, according to thy taste.

In all these passages svadhấ may be rendered by manner, habit, usage, and ánu svadhấm would seem to correspond to the Greek ἐξ ἔθους. Yet the history of these words in Sanskrit and Greek has not been exactly the same. First of all we observe in Greek a division between ἔθος and ἦθος, and whereas the former comes very near in meaning to the Sanskrit svadhấ, the latter shows in Homer a much more primitive and material sense. It means in Homer, not a person's own nature, but the own place, for instance, of animals, the haunts of horses, lions, fish; in Hesiod, also of men. Svadhấ in the Veda does not occur in that sense, although etymologically it might take the meaning of one's own place: cf. dhâ-man, *familia*, etc. Whether in Greek ἦθος, from meaning lair, haunt, home, came, like νομός and νόμος, to mean habit, manner, character, which would be quite possible, or whether ἦθος in that meaning represents a second start from the same point, which in Sanskrit was fixed in svadhấ, is impossible to determine. In Sanskrit svadhấ clearly shows the meaning of one's own nature, power, disposition. It does not mean power or nature in general, but always the power of some one, the peculiarity, the individuality of a person. This will appear from the following passages:

ii. 3, 8. tisrá*h* devī́*h* svadháyâ barhí*h* ấ idám á*kkh*idram pântu.

May the three goddesses protect by their power the sacred pile unbroken.

iv. 13, 5. káyâ yâti svadháyâ.

By what inherent power does he (the Sun) move on?

iv. 26, 4. a*k*akráyâ svadháyâ.

By a power which requires no chariot, i. e. by himself without a chariot.

The same expression occurs again x. 27, 19.

In some places 'mad,' to delight, joined with svadháyâ, seems to mean to revel in his strength, proud of his might.

v. 32, 4. svadháyâ mádantam.

V*r*itra who delights in his strength.

vii. 47, 3. svadháyâ mádantî*h*.

The waters who delight in their strength. See x. 124, 8.

In other passages, however, as we shall see, the same phrase (and this is rather unusual) requires to be taken in a different sense, so as to mean to rejoice in food.

i. 164, 38. svadháyâ g*r*ibhîtá*h*.

Held or grasped by his own strength.

iii. 17, 5. svadháyâ *k*a *s*ambhú*h*.

He who blesses by his own strength.

iii. 35, 10. índra píba svadháyâ *k*it sutá*s*ya agné*h* vâ pâhi *g*ihváyâ ya*g*atra.

Indra drink of the libation by thyself (by thy own power), or with the tongue of Agni, O worshipful.

To drink with the tongue of Agni is a bold but not unusual expression. v. 51, 2. agné*h* pibata *g*ihváyâ.

x. 15, 3. yé svadháyâ sutásya bhá*g*anta pitvá*h*.

Those who by themselves share in the offered draught.

i. 165, 6. kvã syã́ va*h* maruta*h* svadhã́ âsît yát mã́m ékam sam-ádhatta ahi-hátye.

Where was that custom of yours, O Maruts, that ye should have joined me who stand alone in the fight with Ahi?

vii. 8, 3. káyâ na*h* agne ví vasa*h* su-v*r*iktím kã́m û*m* (íti) svadhã́m *r*i*n*ava*h* *s*asyámâna*h*.

In what character dost thou light up our altar, and what character dost thou assume when thou art praised?

iv. 58, 4. venã́t ékam svadháyâ ní*h* tatakshu*h*.

They (the gods) made one out of the sun, by their own power.

iv. 45, 6. ví*s*vân ánu svadháyâ *k*etatha*h* pathá*h*.

You (A*s*vins) look after all the paths by your own strength.

i. 64, 4. sâkám *g*a*g*ñire svadháyâ.

They (the Maruts) were born together according to their nature; very much like ánu svadhã́m, i. 6, 4. One can hardly render it here by 'they were born by their own strength,' or 'by spontaneous generation.'

In other passages, however, svadháyâ, meaning originally by its own power, or nature, comes to mean, by itself, *sponte suâ*.

vii. 78, 4. ấ asthât rátham svadháyâ yugyámânam.

She, the dawn, mounted the chariot which was harnessed by itself, by its own power, without requiring the assistance of people to put the horses to.

x. 129, 2. ấnît avâtám svadháyâ tát ékam.

That only One breathed breathlessly, by its own strength, i.e. by itself.

In the same sense svadhấbhih is used in several passages:

i. 113, 13. amrítâ karati svadhấbhih.

The immortal Dawn moves along by her own strength, i.e. by herself.

viii. 10, 6. yát vâ svadhấbhih adhi-tíshthathah rátham.

Or whether ye mount your chariot by your own strength, ye Asvins.

i. 164, 30. gîváh mritásya karati svadhấbhih ámartyah mártyena sá-yonih.

The living moves by the powers of the dead, the immortal is the brother of the mortal.

iii. 26, 8. várshishtham rátnam akrita svadhấbhih.

He (Agni) made the best jewel by his own powers, i.e. by himself.

v. 60, 4. varấh-iva ít raivatấsah híranyaih abhí svadhấbhih tanvấh pipisre.

Like rich suitors, they (the Maruts) by their own strength, i.e. themselves, adorn their bodies with gold ornaments.

There are doubtful passages in which the meaning of svadhấbhih, too, is doubtful. Thus, i. 180, 6. In vi. 2, 8, svadhấ looks like an adverb, instead of svadháyâ, and would then refer to párigmâ. The same applies to viii. 32, 6.

But svadhấ means also food, lit. one's own portion, the sacrificial offering due to each god, and lastly, food in general.

i. 108, 12. yát indrâgnî (íti) út-itâ sû́ryasya mádhye diváh svadháyâ mâdáyethe (íti).

Whether you, Indra and Agni, delight in your food at the rising of the sun or at midday.

x. 15, 12. tvám agne îlitáh gâta-vedah ávât havyấni surabhî́ni kritvî́, prá adâh pitrí-bhyah svadháyâ té akshan addhí tvám deva prá-yatâ havî́mshi. 13. yé ka ihá pitárah yé ka ná ihá yấn ka vidmá yấn ûm (íti) ka ná pra-vidmá, tvám vettha

yáti té *g*âta-veda*h* svadhấbhi*h* ya*g*ñám sú-k*r*itam *g*ushasva. 14. yé agni-dagdhấ*h* yé ánagni-dagdhâ*h* mádhye divá*h* svadháyâ mâdáyante, tébhi*h* sva-rấ*t* ásu-nîtim etấm yathâ-va*s*ám tanvẫm kalpayasva.

12. Thou, O Agni *G*âtavedas, hast carried, when implored, the offerings which thou hast rendered sweet: thou hast given them to the fathers, they fed on their share. Eat thou, O god, the proffered oblations. 13. Our fathers who are here, and those who are not here, our fathers whom we know and those whom we do not know, thou knowest how many they are, O *G*âtavedas, accept the well-made sacrifice with the sacrificial portions. 14. They who, whether burnt by fire or not burnt by fire, rejoice in their offering in the midst of heaven, give to them, O king, that life, and thy (their) own body, according to thy will.

iii. 4, 7. saptá p*r*ikshấsa*h* svadháyâ madanti.

The seven horses delight in their food.

x. 14, 7. ubhấ rấ*g*ânâ svadháyâ mádantâ.

The two kings delighting in their food.

ix. 113, 10. yátra kấmâ*h* ni-kâmấ*h* *k*a, yátra bradhnásya vish*t*ápam, svadhấ *k*a yátra t*r*ípti*h* *k*a tátra mấm am*r*ítam k*r*idhí.

Where wishes and desires are, where the cup of the bright Soma is, where there is food and rejoicing, there make me immortal.

i. 154, 4. yásya trî́ pûr*n*ấ mádhunâ padấni ákshîyamâ*n*â svadháyâ mádanti.

He (Vish*n*u) whose three places, full of sweet, imperishable, delight or abound in food.

v. 34, 1. svadhấ ámitâ.

His unlimited portion or offering.

ii. 35, 7. dhenú*h* svadhấm pîpâya.

The cow yields her food, her portion, her milk.

i. 168, 9. ất ít svadhấm ishirấm pári apa*s*yan.

Thereafter (the Maruts) saw the vigorous food.

i. 176, 2. ánu svadhấ yám upyáte.

After whom, or for whom, his food is scattered.

In the tenth book svadhấ is used very much as it occurs in the later Sanskrit, as the name of a peculiar sacrificial rite.

x. 14, 3. yắn *k*a devắ*h* vav*r*idhú*h* yé *k*a devắn svắhâ anyé svadháyâ anyé madanti.

Those whom the gods cherish, and those who cherish the gods, the one delight in Svâhâ, the others in Svadhâ; or, in praise and food.

Verse 4, note [3]. The expression garbha-tvám â-îriré is matched by that of iii. 60, 3. saudhanvanắsa*h* am*r*ita-tvám ắ îrire, the Saudhanvanas (the *R*ibhus) obtained immortality. The idea that the Maruts assumed the form of a garbha, lit. of an embryo or a new-born child, is only meant to express that the storms burst forth from the womb of the sky as soon as Indra arises to do battle against the demon of darkness. As assisting Indra in this battle, the Maruts, whose name retained for a long time its purely appellative meaning of storms, attained their rank as deities by the side of Indra, or, as the poet expresses it, they assumed their sacred name. This seems to be the whole meaning of the later legend that the Maruts, like the *R*ibhus, were not originally gods, but became deified for their works.

Váhni.

Verse 5, note [1]. Sâya*n*a explains váhnibhi*h* in the sense of Marúdbhi*h*, and he tells the oft-repeated story how the cows were carried off by the Pa*n*is from the world of the gods, and thrown into darkness, and how Indra with the Maruts conquered them and brought them back. Everybody seems to have accepted this explanation of Sâya*n*a, and I myself do not venture to depart from it. Yet it should be stated that the use of váhni as a name of the Maruts is by no means well established. Váhni is in fact a most difficult word in the Veda. In later Sanskrit it means fire, and is quoted also as a name of Agni, the god of fire, but we do not learn why a word which etymologically means carrier, from vah, to carry, should have assumed the meaning of fire. It may be that vah, which in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin means chiefly to carry, expressed originally the idea of moving about (the German *be-wegen*), in which case váh-ni, fire, would have been formed with the same purpose as

ag-ní, *ig-nis*, fire, from Sk. a*g*, ἄγ-ω, *ag-o*. But in Sanskrit Agni is so constantly represented as the carrier of the sacrificial oblation, that something may be said in favour of the Indian scholastic interpreters who take váhni, as applied to Agni, in the sense of carrier. However that may be, it admits of no doubt that váhni, in the Veda also, is distinctly applied to the bright fire or light. In some passages it looks very much like a proper name of Agni, in his various characters of terrestrial and celestial light. It is used for the sacrificial fire:

v. 50, 4. yátra váhni*h* abhí-hita*h*.

Where the sacrificial fire is placed.

It is applied to Agni:

vii. 7, 5. ásâdi *v*ritá*h* váhni*h* â-*g*aganvấn agní*h* brahmấ.

The chosen light came nigh, and sat down, Agni, the priest.

Here Agni is, as usual, represented as a priest, chosen like a priest, for the performance of the sacrifice. But, for that very reason, váhni may here have the meaning of priest, which, as we shall see, it has in many places, and the translation would then be more natural: He, the chosen minister, came near and sat down, Agni, the priest.

viii. 23, 3. váhni*h* vindate vásu.

Agni finds wealth (for those who offer sacrifices?).

More frequently váhni is applied to the celestial Agni, or other solar deities, where it is difficult to translate it in English except by an adjective:

iii. 5, 1. ápa dvấrâ támasa*h* váhni*h* âvar (íty âva*h*).

Agni opened the two doors of darkness.

i. 160, 3. sá*h* váhni*h* putrá*h* pitró*h* pavítra-vân punấti dhíra*h* bhúvanâni mâyáyâ.

That light, the son of the two parents, full of brightness, the wise, brightens the world by his power.

Agni is even called váhni-tama (iv. 1, 4), which hardly means more than the brightest.

ii. 17, 4. ất ródasî (íti) *g*yótishâ váhni*h* ấ atanot.

Then the luminous (Indra) stretched out or filled heaven and earth with his light.

ii. 38, 1. út û*m* (íti) syá*h* devá*h* savitấ—váhni*h* asthât.

The bright Savitar, the luminous, arose.

Besides this meaning of light or fire, however, there are

clearly two other meanings of váhni which must be admitted in the Veda, first that of a carrier, vehicle, and, it may be, horse; secondly that of minister or priest.

vi. 57, 3. a*g*ấ*h* anyásya váhnaya*h* hárî (íti) anyásya sámbh*ri*tâ.

The bearers of the one (Pûshan) are goats, the bays are yoked for the other (Indra).

i. 14, 6. gh*ri*tá-p*ri*sh*th*â*h* mana*h*-yú*g*a*h* yé tvâ váhanti váhnaya*h*.

The horses with shining backs, obedient to thy will, which carry thee (Agni).

viii. 3, 23. yásmai anyé dá*s*a práti dhúram váhanti váhnaya*h*.

A horse against whom other ten horses carry a weight; i. e. it requires ten horses to carry the weight which this one horse carries. (See x. 11, 7. váhamâna*h* á*s*vai*h*.)

ii. 37, 3. médyantu te váhnaya*h* yébhi*h* ī́yase.

May thy horses be fat on which thou goest.

ii. 24, 13. utá ấ*s*ish*th*â*h* ánu *s*ri*n*vanti váhnaya*h*.

The very quick horses (of Brahma*n*aspati) listen. These may be the flames, but they are conceived as carriers or horses.

i. 44, 13. *s*rudhí *s*rut-kar*n*a váhni-bhi*h*.

Agni, who hast ears to hear, hear, on thy horses. Unless váhni-bhi*h* is joined with the words that follow, devaí*h* sayấva-bhi*h*.

iii. 6, 2. va*k*yántâm te váhnaya*h* saptá-*g*ihvâ*h* *.

May thy seven-tongued horses be called. Here váhnaya*h* is clearly meant for the flames of Agni, yet I doubt whether we should be justified in dropping the simile, as the plural of váhni is nowhere used in the bald sense of flames.

In one passage váhni is used as a feminine, or at all events applied to a feminine subject:

viii. 94, 1. yuktấ váhni*h* ráthânâm.

She is yoked as the drawer of the chariots.

The passages in which váhni is applied to Soma in the 9th and 10th Ma*nd*alas throw little light on the subject. (ix. 9, 6; 20, 5; 6; 36, 2; 64, 19; 89, 1; x. 101, 10.)

Instead of vi*s*ấm vi*s*páti*h*, lord of men (vii. 7, 4), we find

* Cf. i. 58, 7. saptá *g*uhvấ*h*.

ix. 108, 10. visấm váhni*h* ná vispáti*h*. One feels inclined to translate here váhni*h* by leader, but it is more likely that váhni is here again the common name of Soma, and that it is inserted between visấm ná vispáti*h*, which is meant to form one phrase.

In ix. 97, 34, tisrá*h* vấ*k*a*h* îrayati prá váhni*h*, we may take váhni as the common appellation of Soma. But it may also mean minister or priest, as in the passages which we have now to examine. Cf. x. 11, 6.

For besides these passages in which váhni clearly means vector, carrier, drawer, horse, there is a large class of verses in which it can only be translated by minister, i.e. officiating minister, and, as it would seem, chiefly singer or reciter.

The verb vah was used in Sanskrit in the sense of carrying out (ud-vah, *ausführen*), or performing a rite, particularly as applied to the reciting of hymns. Hence such compounds as ukthá-vâhas or stóma-vâhas, offering hymns of praise. Thus we read:

v. 79, 4. abhí yé tvâ vibhâ-vari stómai*h* gri*n*ánti váhnaya*h*.

The ministers who praise thee, splendid Dawn, with hymns.

i. 48, 11. yé tvâ gri*n*ánti váhnaya*h*.

The ministers who praise thee.

vii. 75, 5. ushấ*h* u*kk*hati váhni-bhi*h* gri*n*ânấ.

The dawn lights up, praised by the ministers.

vi. 39, 1. mandrásya kavé*h* divyásya váhne*h*.

Of the sweet poet, of the heavenly priest . . . .

vii. 82, 4. yuvấm ít yut-sú prítanâsu váhnaya*h* yuvấm kshémasya pra-savé mitá-*g*ñava*h* îsânấ vásva*h* ubháyasya kâráva*h* índrâvaru*n*â su-hávâ havâmahe.

We, as ministers, invoke you only in fights and battles; we, as supplicants, (invoke) you for the granting of treasure; we, as poets, (invoke) you, the lords of twofold wealth, you, Indra and Varu*n*a, who listen to our call.

vi. 32, 3. sá*h* váhni-bhi*h* ríkva-bhi*h* góshu sásvat mitá*g*ñu-bhi*h* puru-krítvâ *g*igâya.

He (Indra) was victorious often among the cows, always with celebrating and suppliant ministers.

I have placed these two passages together because they

seem to me to illustrate each other, and to show that although in the second passage the celebrating and suppliant ministers may be intended for the Maruts, yet no argument could be drawn from this verse in favour of váhni by itself meaning the Maruts. See also viii. 6, 2; 12, 15; x. 114, 2.

iv. 21, 6. hótâ yáh nah mahấn sam-váraneshu váhnih.

The Hotar who is our great priest in the sanctuaries.

i. 128, 4. váhnih vedhấh ágâyata.

Because the wise priest (Agni) was born.

The same name which in these passages is applied to Agni, is in others, and, as it will be seen, in the same sense, applied to Indra.

ii. 21, 2. tuvi-gráye váhnaye.

To the strong-voiced priest or leader.

The fact that váhni is followed in several passages by ukthaíh would seem to show that the office of the váhni was chiefly that of recitation or of addressing prayers to the gods.

iii. 20, 1. agním ushásam asvínâ dadhi-krấm ví-ushtishu havate váhnih ukthaíh.

The priest at the break of day calls with his hymns Agni, Ushas, the Asvins, and Dadhikrâ.

i. 184, 1. tấ vâm adyá taú aparám huvema ukkhántyâm ushási váhnih ukthaíh.

Let us invoke the two Asvins to-day and to-morrow, the priest with his hymns is there when the dawn appears.

In a similar sense, it would seem, as váhnih ukthaíh, the Vedic poets frequently use the words váhnih âsấ. This âsấ is the instrumental singular of âs, mouth, and it is used in other phrases also of the mouth as the instrument of praise.

vi. 32, 1. vagríne sám-tamâni vákâmsi âsấ sthávirâya taksham.

I have shaped with my mouth blessed words to the wielder of the thunderbolt, the strong Indra.

x. 115, 3. âsấ váhnim ná sokíshâ vi-rapsínam.

He who sings with his flame as the poet with his mouth. See also i. 38, 14. mimîhí slókam âsyḗ, make a song in thy mouth.

Thus we find váhnih âsấ in the same place in the sixth

and seventh Ma*nd*alas (vi. 16, 9; vii. 16, 9), in the phrase váhni*h* âsấ vidú*h*-tara*h*, applied to Agni in the sense of the priest wise with his mouth, or taking váhni*h* âsấ as it were one word, the wise poet.

i. 129, 5. váhni*h* âsấ, váhni*h* na*h* ấ*kkh*a.

Indra, as a priest by his lips, as a priest coming towards us.

From the parallelism of this passage it would seem that Professor Roth concluded the meaning of âsấ * to be near, or *coram*.

i. 76, 4. pra*g*ấ-vatâ vá*k*asâ váhni*h* âsấ ấ *k*a huvé ní *k*a satsi ihá devaí*h*.

With words in which my people join, I, the poet, invoke, and thou (Agni) sittest down with the gods.

vi. 11, 2. pâvakáyâ *g*uhvấ váhni*h* âsấ.

Thou, a poet with a bright tongue, O Agni!

The question now arises in what sense váhni is used when applied without further definition to certain deities. Most deities in the Veda are represented as driving or driven, and many as poets or priests. When the A*s*vins are called váhnî, viii. 8, 12; vii. 73, 4, it may mean riders. But when the Vi*s*ve Devas are so called, i. 3, 9, or the *R*ibhus, the exact

---

* Âs, mouth, the Latin *os*, *oris*, has been derived from a root as, to breathe, preserved in the Sanskrit as-u, spirit, asu-ra, endowed with spirit, living, the living god. Though I agree with Curtius in admitting a primitive root as, to breathe, from which as-u, breath, must have sprung, I have always hesitated about the derivation of âs and âsya, mouth, from the same root. I do not think, however, that the lengthening of the vowel in âs is so great a difficulty as has been supposed (Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. xvii. p. 145). Several roots lengthen their vowel a, when used as substantives without derivative suffixes. In some cases this lengthening is restricted to the Anga base, as in ana*d*vâh; in others to the Anga and Pada base, as in vi*s*vavât, visvavâ*d*bhi*h*, &c.; in others again it pervades the whole declension, as in turâshât: (see Sanskrit Grammar, §§ 210, 208, 175.) Among ordinary words vâ*k* offers a clear instance of a lengthened vowel. In the Veda we find *r*itîsháham, vi. 14, 4, and *r*itîshấham (Sanhitâ), i. 64, 15. We find vâh in apsu-vâh (Sâm. Ved.), indra-vâh, havya-vâh. Sah at the end of compounds, such as n*r*i-sah, p*r*itanâ-sah, bhûri-sah, satrâ-sah, vibhâ-sah, sadâ-sah, varies between a long and short â: (see Regnier, Étude sur l'idiome du Védas, p. 111.) At all events no instance has yet been pointed out in Sanskrit, showing the same contraction which we should have to admit if, as has been proposed, we derived âs from av-as, or from an-as. From an we have in the Veda âná, mouth or face, i. 52, 15. From as, to breathe, the Latin *omen*, originally *os-men*, a whisper, might likewise be derived.

meaning is more doubtful. The Maruts are certainly riders, and we can even prove that they were supposed to sit on horseback and to have the bridle through the horse's nostrils (v. 61, 2). But if in our verse i. 6, 5, we translate váhni as an epithet, rider, and not only as an epithet, but as a name of the Maruts, we cannot support our translation by independent evidence, but must rely partly on the authority of Sâyana, partly on the general tenour of the text before us, where the Maruts are mentioned in the preceding verse, and, if I am right, in the verse following also. On the other hand, if váhni can thus be used as a name of the Maruts, there is at least one other passage which would gain in clearness by the admission of that meaning, viz.

x. 138, 1. táva tyé indra sakhyéshu váhnaya*h*—ví adardiru*h* valám.

In thy friendship, Indra, these Maruts tore asunder the cloud.

Verse 5, note [2]. I have translated vî*l*ú by stronghold, though it is only an adjective meaning firm. Dr. Oscar Meyer, in his very able essay Quæstiones Homericæ, specimen prius, Bonnæ, 1867, has tried to show that this vî*l*ú is the original form of Ἴλιος, and he has brought some further evidence to show that the siege and conquest of Troy, as I pointed out in my Lectures on the Science of Language, vol. ii. p. 470, was originally described in language borrowed from the siege and conquest of the dark night by the powers of light, or from the destruction of the cloud by the weapons of Indra. It ought to be considered, however, that vî*l*ú in the Veda has not dwindled down as yet to a mere name, and that therefore it may have originally retained its purely appellative power in Greek as well as in Sanskrit, and from meaning a stronghold in general, have come to mean the stronghold of Troy.

Verse 5, note [3]. The bright cows are here the cows of the morning, the dawns, or the days themselves, which are represented as rescued at the end of each night by the power of Indra, or similar solar gods. Indra's companions in that daily rescue are the Maruts, the storms, or the

breezes of the morning, the same companions who act even a more prominent part in the battle of Indra against the dark clouds; two battles often mixed up together.

Verse 6, note [1]. The reasons why I take gírah as a masculine in the sense of singer or praiser, may be seen in a note to i. 37, 10.

Verse 6, note [2]. yáthâ matím, lit. according to their mind, according to their heart's desire. Cf. ii. 24, 13.

Verse 7, note [1]. The sudden transition from the plural to the singular is strange, but the host of the Maruts is frequently spoken of in the singular, and nothing else can here be intended. It may be true, as Professor Benfey suggests, that the verses here put together stood originally in a different order, or that they were taken from different sources. Yet though the Sâma-veda would seem to sanction a small alteration in the order of the verses, the alteration of verses 7, 4, 5, as following each other, would not help us much. The Atharva-veda sanctions no change in the order of these verses.

The transition to the dual at the end of the verse is likewise abrupt, not more so, however, than we are prepared for in the Veda. The suggestion of the Nirukta (iv. 12) that these duals might be taken as instrumentals of the singular, is of no real value.

Verse 7, note [2]. Dríkshase, a very valuable form, a second person singular conjunctive of the First Aorist Âtmanepada, the termination 'sase' corresponding to Greek σῃ, as the conjunctive takes the personal terminations of the present in both languages. Similar forms, viz. prikshase, x. 22, 7, mamsase, x. 27, 10; Ath. Veda vii. 20, 2–6, and possibly vívakshase, x. 21, 1–8, 24, 1–3, 25, 1–11, will have to be considered hereafter. (Nirukta, ed. Roth, p. 30, Notes.)

Verse 8, note [1]. Arkati, which I have here translated by he cries aloud, means literally, he celebrates. I do not know of any passage where arkati, when used, as here,

without an object, means to shine, as Professor Benfey translates it. The real difficulty, however, lies in makhá, which Sâyana explains by sacrifice, and which I have ventured to translate by priest or sacrificer. Makhá, as an adjective, means, as far as we can judge, strong or vigorous, and is applied to various deities, such as Pûshan i. 138, 1, Savitar vi. 71, 1, Soma xi. 20, 7, Indra iii. 34, 2, the Maruts i. 64, 11; vi. 66, 9. By itself, makhá is never used as the name of any deity, and it cannot therefore, as Professor Roth proposes, be used in our passage as a name of Indra, or be referred to Indra as a significant adjective. In i. 119, 3, makhá is applied to men or warriors, but it does not follow that makhá by itself means warrior, though it may be connected with the Greek μαχος in σύμμαχος. See Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 293; Grassmann, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xvi. p. 164.

There are two passages where makhá refers to an enemy of the gods, ix. 101, 13; x. 171, 2.

Among the remaining passages there is one where makhá is used in parallelism with váhni, x. 11, 6. vívakti váhnih, su-apasyáte makháh. Here I propose to translate, The poet speaks out, the priest works well. The same meaning seems to me applicable likewise to the phrase makhásya dâváne, to the offering of the priest.

i. 134, 1. ẫ yâhi dâváne, vẫyo (íti), makhásya dâváne.

Come, Vâyu, to the offering, to the offering of the priest.

viii. 7, 27. ẫ nah makhásya dâváne—dévâsah úpa gantana.

Come, gods, to the offering of our priest.

Professor Roth proposes to render makhá in these passages by 'attestation of joy, celebration, praise,' and he takes dâváne, as I have done, as a dative of dâván, a *nomen actionis*, meaning, the giving. There are some passages where one feels inclined to admit a noun dâvána, and to take dâváne as a locative sing.

vi. 71, 2. devásya vayám savitúh sávîmani
sréshthe syâma vásunah ka dâváne.

May we be in the favour of the god Savitar, and in the best award of his treasure.

In ii. 11, 1, and ii. 11, 12, the locative would likewise be preferable; but there is a decided majority of passages

in which dâvâne occurs and where it is to be taken as a dative*, nor is there any other instance in the Veda of a *nomen actionis* being formed by vana. It is better, therefore, in vi. 71, 2, to refer *sr*ésh*th*e to sávîmani, and to make allowance in the other passages for the idiomatic use of such phrases as dâvâne vásûnâm or râyá*h* dâvâne.

The termination váne explains, as has been shown by Professor Benfey, Greek infinitives such as δοῦναι, i. e. δοεναι or δοϝεναι = Sanskrit dâ-váne. The termination *mane* in dá̂-mane, for the purpose of giving, explains, as the same scholar has proved, the ancient infinitives in Greek, such as δό-μεναι. It may be added that the regular infinitives in Greek, ending in εναι, as λελοιπ-έναι, are likewise matched by Vedic forms such as ix. 61, 30. dhū́rv-ane, or vi. 61, 13. vibhv-âne. In the termination ειν, which stands for ενι, like εις for εσι, we have, on the contrary, not a dative, but a locative of an abstract noun in an, both cases, as we see from their juxta-position in vi. 71, 2, being equally applicable to express the relation which we are accustomed to call infinitive.

Verses 9 and 10, note [1]. Although the names for earth, sky, and heaven vary in different parts of the Veda, yet the expression divá*h* ro*k*anám occurs so frequently that we can hardly take it in this place in a sense different from its ordinary meaning. Professor Benfey thinks that ro*k*aná may here mean ether, and he translates 'come from heaven above the ether;' and in the next verse, 'come from heaven above the earth.' At first, every reader would feel inclined to take the two phrases, divá*h* vâ ro*k*anā́t ádhi, and divá*h* vâ pā́rthivât ádhi, as parallel; yet I believe they are not quite so.

The following passages will show that the two words ro*k*anám divá*h* belong together, and that they signify the light of heaven, or the bright place of heaven.

viii. 98, 3. ága*kkh*a*h* ro*k*anám divá*h*.

---

* Rv. i. 61, 10; 122, 5; 134, 2; 139, 6; ii. 1, 10; iv. 29, 5; 32, 9; v. 59, 1; 4; 65, 3; viii. 25, 20; 45, 10; (92, 26); 46, 25; 27; 63, 5; 69, 17; 70, 12; ix. 93, 4; x. 32, 5; 44, 7; 50, 7.

Thou (Indra) wentest to the light of heaven.

i. 155, 3. ádhi rokané diváh.

In the light of heaven.

iii. 6, 8. uraú vâ yé antárikshe—diváh vâ yé rokané.

In the wide sky, or in the light of heaven.

viii. 82, 4. upamé rokané diváh.

In the highest light of heaven.

ix. 86, 27. tritíye prishthé ádhi rokané diváh.

On the third ridge, in the light of heaven. See also i. 105, 5; viii. 69, 3.

The very phrase which we find in our verse, only with kit instead of vâ, occurs again, i. 49, 1; viii. 8, 7; and the same sense must probably be assigned to viii. 1, 18, ádha gmáh ádha vâ diváh brihatáh rokanắt ádhi.

Either from the earth, or from the light of the great heaven, increase, O Indra!

Rokaná also occurs in the plural:

i. 146, 1. vísvâ diváh rokanắ.

All the bright regions of heaven.

Sâyana: 'All the bright palaces of the gods.' See iii. 12, 9.

The same word rokaná, and in the same sense, is also joined with sűrya and nắka.

Thus, i. 14, 9. sűryasya rokanắt vísvân devắn—hótâ ihá vakshati.

May the Hotar bring the Visve Devas hither from the light of the sun, or from the bright realm of the sun.

iii. 22, 3. yắh rokané parástât sűryasya.

The waters which are above, in the bright realm of the sun, and those which are below.

i. 19, 6. yé nắkasya ádhi rokané, diví devắsah ắsate.

They who in the light of the firmament, in heaven, are enthroned as gods.

Here diví, in heaven, seems to be the same as the light of the firmament, nắkasya rokané.

Thus rokaná occurs also frequently by itself, when it clearly has the meaning of heaven.

It is said of the dawn, i. 49, 4; of the sun, i. 50, 4; and of Indra, iii. 44, 4.

vísvam ắ bhâti rokanám, they light up the whole sky.

We also read of three rokanas, where, though it is difficult

to say what is really meant, we must translate, the three skies. The cosmography of the Veda is, as I said before, somewhat vague and varying. There is, of course, the natural division of the world into heaven and earth (dyú and bhū́mi), and the threefold division into earth, sky, and heaven, where sky is meant for the region intermediate between heaven and earth (prithivī́, antáriksha, dyú). There is also a fourfold division, for instance,

viii. 97, 5. yát vâ ási rokané diváh
samudrásya ádhi vishtápi,
yát pā́rthive sádane vritrahan-tama,
yát antárikshe ā́ gahi.

Whether thou, O greatest killer of Vritra, art in the light of heaven, or in the basin of the sea, or in the place of the earth, or in the sky, come hither!

v. 52, 7. yé vavridhánta pā́rthivâh yé uraú antárikshe ā́, vrigáne vâ nadī́nâm sadhá-sthe vâ maháh diváh.

The Maruts who grew, being on the earth, those who are in the wide sky, or in the compass of the rivers, or in the abode of the great heaven.

But very soon these three or more regions are each spoken of as threefold. Thus,

i. 102, 8. tisráh bhū́mîh trī́ni rokanā́.

The three earths, the three skies.

ii. 27, 9. trī́ rokanā́ divyā́ dhârayanta.

The Âdityas support the three heavenly skies.

v. 69, 1. trī́ rokanā́ varuna trī́n utá dyū́n trī́ni mitra dhârayathah rágâmsi.

Mitra and Varuna, you support the three lights, and the three heavens, and the three skies.

Here there seems some confusion, which Sâyana's commentary makes even worse confounded. What can rokanā́ mean as distinct from dyú and rágas? The fourth verse of the same hymn throws no light on the subject, and I should feel inclined to take divyā́-pā́rthivasya as one word, though even then the cosmic division here adopted is by no means clear. However, there is a still more complicated division alluded to in iv. 53, 5:

tríh antáriksham savitā́ mahi-tvanā́ trī́ rágâmsi pari-bhū́h trī́ni rokanā́, tisráh dívah prithivī́h tisráh invati.

Here we have the sky thrice, three welkins, three lights, three heavens, three earths.

A careful consideration of all these passages will show, I think, that in our passage we must take diváh vâ rokanắt ádhi in its usual sense, and that we cannot separate the two words.

In the next verse, on the contrary, it seems equally clear that diváh and pắrthivât must be separated. At all events there is no passage in the Rig-veda where pắrthiva is joined as an adjective with dyú. Pắrthiva as an adjective is frequently joined with rágas, never with dyú. See i. 81, 5; 90, 7; viii. 88, 5; ix. 72, 8: in the plural, i. 154, 1; v. 81, 3; vi. 31, 2; 49, 3.

Pắrthivâni also occurs by itself, when it means the earth, as opposed to the sky and heaven.

x. 32, 2. ví indra yâsi divyắni rokanắ ví pắrthivâni rágasâ.

Indra thou goest in the sky between the heavenly lights and the earthly.

viii. 94, 9. ắ yé vísvâ pắrthivâni paprắthan rokanắ diváh.

The Maruts who stretched out all the earthly lights, and the lights of heaven.

vi. 61, 11. â-paprúshî pắrthivâni urú rágah antáriksham.

Sarasvatî filling the earthly places, the wide welkin, the sky. This is a doubtful passage.

Lastly, pắrthivâni by itself seems to signify earth, sky, and heaven, if those are the three regions which Vishnu measured with his three steps; or east, the zenith, and west, if these were intended as the three steps of that deity. For we read:

i. 155, 4. yáh pắrthivâni tri-bhíh ít vígâma-bhih urú krámishta.

He (Vishnu) who strode wide with his three strides across the regions of the earth.

These two concluding verses might also be taken as containing the actual invocation of the sacrificer, which is mentioned in verse 8. In that case the full stop at the end of verse 8 should be removed.

Mandala I, Sûkta 19.

Ashtaka I, Adhyâya 1, Varga 36–37.

1. Práti tyám *k*ā́rum adhvarám go-pîthā́ya prá hûyase, marút-bhi*h* agne ā́ gahi.

2. Nahí devá*h* ná mártya*h* mahá*h* táva krátum pará*h*, marút-bhi*h* agne ā́ gahi.

3. Yé mahá*h* rá*g*asa*h* vidú*h* vísve devā́sa*h* adrúha*h*, marút-bhi*h* agne ā́ gahi.

4. Yé ugrā́*h* arkám ân*rik*ú*h* ánâdh*r*ish*t*âsa*h* ó*g*asâ, marút-bhi*h* agne ā́ gahi.

---

1. Wilson: Earnestly art thou invoked to this perfect rite, to drink the Soma juice: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Zu diesem schönen Opfer wirst du gerufen, zum Trank der Milch!—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Le sacrifice est préparé avec soin; nous t'appelons à venir goûter des nos libations: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

2. Wilson: No god nor man has power over a rite (dedicated) to thee, who art mighty: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Denn nicht ein Gott, kein Sterblicher ragt über dein, des Grossen, Macht — Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Aucun dieu, aucun mortel n'est assez fort pour lutter contre un être aussi grand que toi: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

Hymn to Agni (the god of Fire) and the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Thou art called forth to this fair sacrifice for a draught of milk;[1] with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

2. No god indeed, no mortal, is beyond the might[1] of thee, the mighty one; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

3. They who know of the great sky,[1] the Visve Devas[2] without guile;[3] with those Maruts come hither, O Agni!

4. The wild ones who sing their song,[1] unconquerable by force; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

---

3. Wilson: Who all are divine, and devoid of malignity, and who know (how to cause the descent) of great waters: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Die guten Götter, welche all bestehen in dem weiten Raum—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Tous ces dieux bienfaiteurs (des hommes) connaissent ce vaste monde (où règne la lumière): Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

4. Wilson: Who are fierce, and send down rain, and are unsurpassed in strength: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Die schrecklich-unbesiegbaren, die mächtiglich Licht angefacht—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Menaçants, doués d'une force invincible, ils peuvent obscurcir la lumière du soleil: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

5. Yé *s*ubhrấ*h* ghorá-varpasa*h* su-kshatrấsa*h* ri*s*ấdasa*h*, marút-bhi*h* agne ấ gahi.

6. Yé nấkasya ádhi ro*k*ané diví devấsa*h* ấsate, marút-bhi*h* agne ấ gahi.

7. Yé ìṅkháyanti párvatân tirá*h* samudrám ar*n*avám, marút-bhi*h* agne ấ gahi.

8. Ấ yé tanvánti ra*s*mí-bhi*h* tirá*h* samudrám ó*g*asâ, marút-bhi*h* agne ấ gahi.

9. Abhí tvâ pûrvá-pîtaye s*rig*ấmi somyám mádhu, marút-bhi*h* agne ấ gahi.

---

5. Wilson: Who are brilliant, of terrific forms, who are possessors of great wealth, and are devourers of the malevolent: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Die glänzend-grau'ngestaltigen, hochherrschend-feindvernichtenden—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Resplendissants, revêtus d'une forme terrible, ils peuvent donner les richesses, comme ils peuvent aussi détruire leurs ennemis: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

6. Wilson: Who are divinities abiding in the radiant heaven above the sun: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Die Götter die im Himmel sind ob dem Lichtkreis des Göttersitz's—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

Langlois: Sous la voûte brillante du ciel, ces dieux s'élèvent et vont s'asseoir: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

7. Wilson: Who scatter the clouds, and agitate the sea (with waves): come, Agni, with the Maruts.

Benfey: Welche über das wogende Meer hinjagen die Wolkenschaar—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

5. They who are brilliant, of awful shape, powerful, and devourers of foes; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

6. They who in heaven are enthroned as gods, in the light of the firmament;[1] with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

7. They who toss the clouds[1] across the surging sea;[2] with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

8. They who shoot with their darts across the sea with might; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

9. I pour out to thee for the early draught the sweet (juice) of Soma; with the Maruts come hither, O Agni!

LANGLOIS: Ils soulèvent et poussent les montagnes (de nuages) au-dessus de l'abîme des mers: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

8. WILSON: Who spread (through the firmament), along with the rays (of the sun), and, with their strength, agitate the ocean: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Die mit Blitzen schleuderen mächtig über das Meer hinaus—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LANGLOIS: Ils étendent avec force les rayons à travers l'Océan (céleste): Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

9. WILSON: I pour out the sweet Soma juice for thy drinking, (as) of old: come, Agni, with the Maruts.

BENFEY: Ich giesse zu dem ersten Trank für dich des Soma Honig aus—Mit diesen Marut's, Agni! komm!

LANGLOIS: A toi cette première libation; je t'offre la douce boisson du soma: Agni, viens avec les Marouts.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Medhâtithi, of the family of Kanva. The metre is Gâyatrî throughout.

Verse 1, note [1]. Gopîthá is explained by Yâska and Sâyana as drinking of Soma. I have kept to the literal signification of the word, a draught of milk. In the last verse of our hymn the libation offered to Agni and the Maruts is said to consist of Soma, but Soma was commonly mixed with milk. The other meaning assigned to gopîthá, protection, would give the sense: 'Thou art called for the sake of protection.' But pîtha has clearly the sense of drinking in soma-pîthá, Rv. i. 51, 7, and must therefore be taken in the same sense in gopîthá.

Verse 2, note [1]. The Sanskrit krátu expresses power both of body and mind.

Verse 3, note [1]. The sky or welkin (rágas) is the proper abode of the Maruts, and 'they who know of' means simply 'they who dwell' in the great sky. The Vedic poets distinguish commonly between the three worlds, the earth, prithivî́, f., or pā́rthiva, n.; the sky, rágas; and the heaven, dyú: see i. 6, 9, note [1]. The phrase mahā́h rágasah occurs i. 6, 10; 168, 6, &c. Sâyana takes rágas for water or rain: see on this my article in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xii. p. 28. The identification of rágas with ἔρεβος (Leo Meyer, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. vi. p. 19) must remain doubtful until stronger evidence has been brought forward in support of a Greek *β* representing a Sanskrit *g*, even in the middle of a word. See my article in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xv. p. 215; Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 421.

Verse 3, note [2]. The appellation Vísve devā́h, all gods together, or, more properly, host-gods, is often applied to the Maruts; cf. i. 23, 8; 10. Benfey connects this line with the preceding verse, considering Vísve devā́h, it seems, inappropriate as an epithet of the Maruts.

Verse 3, note [3]. On adrúh, without guile or deceit,

without hatred, see Kuhn's excellent article, Zeitschrift für die Vergleichende Sprachforschung, vol. i. pp. 179, 193. Adrúh is applied to the Maruts again in viii. 46, 4, though in connection with other gods. It is applied to the Visve Devas, Rv. i. 3, 9; ix. 102, 5: the Âdityas, Rv. viii. 19, 34; 67, 13: the Rudras, Rv. ix. 73, 7: to Heaven and Earth, Rv. ii. 41, 21; iii. 56, 1; iv. 56, 2; vii. 66, 18: to Mitra and Varuna, Rv. v. 68, 4: to Agni, Rv. vi. 15, 7; viii. 44, 10. The form adhrúk occurs in the sixth Mandala only.

Verse 4, note [1]. Sâyana explains arká by water. Hence Wilson: 'Who are fierce and send down rain.' But arká has only received this meaning of water in the artificial system of interpretation first started by the authors of the Brâhmanas, who had lost all knowledge of the natural sense of the ancient hymns. The passages in which arká is explained as water in the Brâhmanas are quoted by Sâyana, but they require no refutation. On the singing of the Maruts see note to i. 38, 15. The perfect in the Veda, like the perfect in Homer, has frequently to be rendered in English by the present.

Verse 6, note [1]. Nấka must be translated by firmament, as there is no other word in English besides heaven, and this is wanted to render dyú. Like the Jewish firmament, the Indian nấka, too, is adorned with stars; cf. i. 68, 10. pipésa nấkam stríbhih. Dyú, heaven, is supposed to be above the rágas, sky or welkin. Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xii. p. 28.

Sâyana: 'In the radiant heaven above the sun.' See note [1] to i. 6, 9; p. 34.

Verse 7, note [1]. That párvata (mountain) is used in the sense of cloud, without any further explanation, is clear from many passages:

i. 57, 6. tvám tám indra párvatam mahấm urúm vágrena vagrin parva-sáh kakartitha.

Thou, Indra, hast cut this great broad cloud to pieces with thy lightning. Cf. i. 85, 10.

We actually find two similes mixed up together, such

as v. 32, 2. ū́dhaḥ párvatasya, the udder of the cloud. In the Edda, too, the rocks, said to have been fashioned out of Ymir's bones, are supposed to be intended for clouds. In Old Norse *klakkr* means both cloud and rock; nay, the English word *cloud* itself has been identified with the Anglo-Saxon *clū́d*, rock. See Justi, Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 62.

Verse 7, note [2]. Whether the surging sea is to be taken for the sea or for the air, depends on the view which we take of the earliest cosmography of the Vedic *R*ishis. Sâya*n*a explains: 'They who make the clouds go, and stir the watery sea.' Wilson remarks that the influence of the winds upon the sea, alluded to in this and the following verse, indicates more familiarity with the ocean than we should have expected from the traditional inland position of the early Hindus, and it has therefore been supposed that, even in passages like our own, samudrá was meant for the sky, the waters above the firmament. But although there are passages in the Rig-veda where samudrá may be taken to mean the welkin, this word shows in by far the larger number of passages the clear meaning of ocean. There is one famous passage, vii. 95, 2, which proves that the Vedic poets, who were supposed to have known the upper courses only of the rivers of the Penjâb, had followed the greatest and most sacred of their rivers, the Sarasvatî, as far as the Indian ocean. It is well known that, as early as the composition of the laws of the Mânavas, and possibly as early as the composition of the Sûtras on which these metrical laws are based, the river Sarasvatî had changed its course, and that the place where that river disappeared under ground was called Vina*s*ana, the loss. This Vina*s*ana forms, according to the laws of the Mânavas, the western frontier of Madhyade*s*a, the eastern frontier being formed by the confluence of the Gangâ and Yamunâ. Madhyade*s*a is a section of Âryâvarta, the abode of the Âryas in the widest sense. Âryâvarta shares with Madhyade*s*a the same frontiers in the north and the south, viz. the Himâlaya and Vindhya mountains, but it extends beyond Madhyade*s*a to the west and east as far as the western and eastern seas. A section of Madhyade*s*a, again, is the

country described as that of the Brahmarshis, which comprises only Kurukshetra, the countries of the Matsyas, Pañkâlas (Kanyâkubga, according to Kullûka), and Sûrasenas (Mathurâ, according to Kullûka). The most sacred spot of all, however, is that section of the Brahmarshi country which lies between the rivers Drishadvatî and Sarasvatî, and which in the laws of the Mânavas is called Brahmâvarta. I have not found any mention of the Vinasana of the Sarasvatî in any of those works which the author of the laws of the Mânavas may be supposed to have consulted. Madhyadesa is indeed mentioned in one of the Parisishtas (MS. 510, Wilson) as a kind of model country, but it is there described as lying east of Dasârna*, west of Kâmpilya†, north of Pâriyâtra ‡, and south of the Himavat, or again, in a more general way, as the Duâb of the Gangâ and Yamunâ §.

It is very curious that while in the later Sanskrit literature the disappearance of the Sarasvatî in the desert is a fact familiar to every writer, no mention of it should occur during the whole of the Vedic period, and it is still more curious that in one of the hymns of the Rig-veda we should have a distinct statement that the Sarasvatî fell into the sea:

vii. 95, 1–2. prá kshódasâ dhā́yasâ sasre eshā́ sárasvatî dharúnam ā́yasî pū́h, pra-bā́badhânâ rathyā̂-iva yâti vísvâh apáh mahinā́ síndhuh anyā́h. ékâ aketat sárasvatî nadī́nâm súkih yatī́ girí-bhyah ā́ samudrā́t, râyáh kétantî bhúvanasya bhū́reh ghritám páyah duduhe nā́hushâya.

1. With her fertilizing stream this Sarasvatî comes forth—(she is to us) a stronghold, an iron gate. Moving along as on a chariot, this river surpasses in greatness all other waters. 2. Alone among all rivers Sarasvatî listened, *she who goes*

---

* See Wilson's Vishnu-purâna, ed. Hall, pp. 154, 155, 159, 160.

† See Wilson's Vishnu-purâna, ed. Hall, p. 161.

‡ l. c. pp. 123, 127.

§ Prâg dasârnât pratyak kâmpilyâd udak pâriyâtrâd, dakshinena himavatah. Gangâyamunayor antaram eke madhyadesam ity âkakshate. Medhâtithi says that Madhyadesa, the middle country, was not called so because it was in the middle of the earth, but because it was neither too high nor too low. Albiruny, too, remarks that Madhyadesa was between the sea and the northern mountains, between the hot and the cold countries, equally distant from the eastern and western frontiers. See Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 46.

pure from the mountains as far as the sea. She who knows of the manifold wealth of the world, has poured out to man her fat milk.

Here we see samudrá used clearly in the sense of sea, the Indian sea, and we have at the same time a new indication of the distance which separates the Vedic age from that of the later Sanskrit literature. Though it may not be possible to determine by geological evidence the time of the changes which modified the southern area of the Penjâb and caused the Sarasvatî to disappear in the desert, still the fact remains that the loss of the Sarasvatî is later than the Vedic age, and that at that time the waters of the Sarasvatî reached the sea. Professor Wilson had observed long ago in reference to the rivers of that part of India, that there have been, no doubt, considerable changes here, both in the nomenclature and in the courses of the rivers, and this remark has been fully confirmed by later observations. I believe it can be proved that in the Vedic age the Sarasvatî was a river as large as the Sutlej, that it was the last of the rivers of the Penjâb, and therefore the iron gate, or the real frontier against the rest of India. At present the Sarasvatî is so small a river that the epithets applied to the Sarasvatî in the Veda have become quite inapplicable to it. The Vedic *R*ishis, though acquainted with numerous rivers, including the Indus and Ganges, call the Sarasvatî the mother of rivers (vii. 36, 6. sárasvatî saptáthî síndhu-mâtâ), the strongest of rivers (vi. 61, 13. apásâm apá*h*-tamâ), and in our passage, vii. 95, 2, we have, as far as I can judge, conclusive evidence that the old Sarasvatî reached in its course the Indian sea, either by itself, or united with the Indus.

But this passage, though important as showing the application of samudrá, i. e. *confluvies*, to the Indian sea, and proving the acquaintance of the Vedic *R*ishis with the southern coast of India, is by no means the only one in which samudrá must be translated by sea. Thus we read, vii. 49, 2:

yấ*h* ấpa*h* divyấ*h* utá vâ srávanti khanítrimâ*h* utá vâ yấ*h* svayam-*g*ấ*h*, samudrá-arthâ*h* yấ*h* *s*úkaya*h* pâvakấ*h* tấ*h* ấpa*h* devī́*h* ihá mấm avantu.

The waters which are from heaven, or those which flow

after being dug, or those which spring up by themselves, the bright, pure waters that tend to the sea, may those divine waters protect me here!

i. 71, 7. agním vísvâh abhí príkshah sakante samudrám ná sravátah saptá yahvîh.

All kinds of food go to Agni, as the seven rivers go to the sea.

Cf. i. 190, 7. samudrám ná sravátah ródha-kakrâh.

v. 78, 8. yáthâ vâtah yáthâ vánam yáthâ samudráh égati.

As the wind moves, as the forest moves, as the sea moves (or the sky).

In hymn x. 58, the same expression occurs which we have in our hymn, and samudrám arnavám there as here admits but of one explanation, the surging sea.

Samudrá in many passages of the Rig-veda has to be taken as an adjective, in the sense of watery or flowing:

vi. 58, 3. yâs te pûshan nâvah antáh samudré hiranyáyîh antárikshe káranti.

Thy golden ships, O Pûshan, which move within the watery sky.

vii. 70, 2. yáh vâm samudrân sarítah píparti.

He who carries you across the watery rivers.

i. 161, 14. at-bhíh yâti várunah samudraíh.

Varuna moves in the flowing waters.

In both these passages samudrá, as an adjective, does not conform to the gender of the noun. See Bollensen, Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 467.

ii. 16, 3. ná samudraíh párvataih indra te ráthah (ná pari-bhvê).

Thy chariot, O Indra, is not to be overcome by the watery clouds.

Mandala I, Sûkta 37.

Ashtaka I, Adhyâya 3, Varga 12–14.

1. Krîlám vah sárdhah mấrutam anarvấnam rathe-súbham, kánvâh abhí prá gâyata.

2. Yé príshatîbhih rishtí-bhih sâkám vấsîbhih añgí-bhih, ágâyanta svá-bhânavah.

3. Ihá-iva srinve êshâm kásâh hásteshu yát vádân, ní yấman kitrám riñgate.

4. Prá vah sárdhâya ghríshvaye tveshá-dyumnâya sushmíne, deváttam bráhma gâyata.

---

1. Wilson: Celebrate, Kañwas, the aggregate strength of the Maruts, sportive, without horses, but shining in their car.

Benfey: Kanviden, auf! begrüsst mit Sang, die muntre Heerschaar der Marut's, die rasch'ste, wagenglänzende.

Langlois: Enfants de Canwa, célébrez la puissance des Marouts que transporte un char brillant, (puissance) rapide et inattaquable dont vous ressentez les effets.

2. Wilson: Who, borne by spotted deer, were born self-radiant, with weapons, war-cries, and decorations.

Benfey: Die mit Hirschen und Speeren gleich mit Donnern und mit Blitzen auch—selbststrahlende—geboren sind.

Langlois: Ils viennent de naître, brillants de leur propre éclat. (Voyez-vous) leurs armes, leurs parures, leur char traîné par les daims? (entendez-vous) leurs clameurs?

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Sing forth, O Kaṇvas, to the sportive host of your Maruts, brilliant on their chariots, and unscathed,[1]—

2. They who were born together, self-luminous, with the spotted deer (the clouds),[1] the spears, the daggers, the glittering ornaments.[2]

3. I hear their[1] whips, almost close by, as they crack them in their hands; they gain splendour[2] on their way.[3]

4. Sing forth your god-given prayer to the exultant[1] host of your Maruts, the furiously vigorous,[2] the powerful.

---

3. WILSON: I hear the cracking of the whips in their hands, wonderfully inspiring (courage) in the fight.

BENFEY: Schier hier erschallt der Peitsche Knall, wenn sie in ihrer Hand erklingt; leuchtend fahr'n sie im Sturm herab.

LANGLOIS: Écoutez, c'est le bruit du fouet qu'ils tiennent dans leurs mains; c'est le bruit qui, dans le combat, anime le courage.

4. WILSON: Address the god-given prayer to those who are your strength, the destroyers of foes, the powerful, possessed of brilliant reputation.

BENFEY: Singt eurer Schaar, der wühlenden, der strahlenreichen, kräftigen ein gotterfülletes Gebet!

LANGLOIS: A cette troupe (divine), qui détruit vos ennemis, noble, forte et glorieuse, offrez la part d'hymnes et de sacrifices que lui donnent les Dévas.

5. Prá *sam*sa góshu ághnyam krî*l*ám yát *s*árdha*h* mấrutam, *g*ámbhe rásasya vav*r*idhe.

6. Ká*h* va*h* várshish*th*a*h* ấ nara*h* divá*h* *k*a gmá*h* *k*a dhûtaya*h*, yát sîm án̄tam ná dhûnuthá.

7. Ní va*h* yấmâya mấnusha*h* dadhré ugrấya manyáve, *g*íhîta párvata*h* gir*í**h*.

8. Yéshâm á*g*meshu p*r*ithivî́ *g*u*g*urvân-iva vi*s*páti*h*, bhiyấ yấmeshu ré*g*ate.

9. Sthirám hí *g*ấnam eshâm váya*h* mâtú*h* ní*h*-etave, yát sîm ánu dvitấ *s*áva*h*.

---

5. WILSON: Praise the sportive and resistless might of the Maruts, who were born amongst kine, and whose strength has been nourished by (the enjoyment of) the milk.

BENFEY: Preist hoch die muntre Marutschaar die unbesiegbar in den Küh'n, im Schlund des Safts wuchs sie heran.

LANGLOIS: Loue donc cette puissance des Marouts, invulnérable et rapide, qui règne au milieu des vaches (célestes), et ouvre avec force (leurs mamelles pour en faire couler) le lait.

6. WILSON: Which is chief leader among you, agitators of heaven and earth, who shake all around, like the top (of a tree)?

BENFEY: Wer, Helden! ist der erste euch—ihr Erd- und Himmel-schütterer!—wenn ihr sie schüttelt Wipfeln gleich?

LANGLOIS: Parmi vous qui remuez si puissamment le ciel et la terre, qui agitez celle-ci comme la cime (d'un arbre), quel est le plus vigoureux?

7. WILSON: The householder, in dread of your fierce and violent approach, has planted a firm (buttress); for the many-ridged mountain is shattered (before you).

5. Celebrate the bull among the cows (the storm among the clouds),[1] for it is the sportive host of the Maruts; he grew as he tasted the rain.[2]

6. Who, O ye men, is the oldest among you here, ye shakers of heaven and earth, when you shake them like the hem of a garment?[1]

7. At your approach the son of man holds himself down; the gnarled cloud[1] fled at your fierce anger.

8. They at whose racings[1] the earth, like a hoary king, trembles for fear on their ways,

9. Their birth is strong indeed: there is strength to come forth from their mother, nay, there is vigour twice enough for it.[1]

BENFEY: Vor eurem Gange beuget sich, vor eurem wilden Zorn der Mann; der Hügel weichet und der Berg;

LANGLOIS: Contre votre marche impétueuse et terrible, l'homme ne peut résister; les collines et les montagnes s'abaissent devant vous.

8. WILSON: At whose impetuous approach earth trembles; like an enfeebled monarch, through dread (of his enemies).

BENFEY: Bei deren Lauf bei deren Sturm die Erde zittert voller Furcht, wie ein altergebeugter Mann.

LANGLOIS: Sous vos pas redoutables, la terre tremble de crainte, telle qu'un roi accablé par l'âge.

9. WILSON: Stable is their birthplace, (the sky); yet the birds (are able) to issue from (the sphere of) their parent: for your strength is everywhere (divided) between two (regions, —or, heaven and earth).

BENFEY: Kaum geboren sind sie so stark, dass ihrer Mutter sie entfliehn: ist ja doch zwiefach ihre Kraft.

LANGLOIS: Le lieu de votre naissance est ferme et stable; vous pouvez, du sein de votre mère, vous élancer, tels que des oiseaux; car, des deux côtés, est un élément solide.

10. Ű́t ûm (íti) tyé sûnávah gírah kấsh*thâh* ág*m*eshu atnata, vâsrấh abhi-*g*ñú yấtave.

11. Tyám *k*it gha dîrghám p*r*ithúm mihá*h* nápâtam ám*r*idhram, prá *k*yavayanti yấma-bhi*h*.

12. Máruta*h* yát ha va*h* bálam *g*ánân a*k*u*k*yavîtana, girî́n a*k*u*k*yavîtana.

13. Yát ha yấnti marúta*h* sám ha bruvate ádhvan ấ, s*r*i*n*óti ká*h* *k*it eshâm.

14. Prá yâta sī́bham âsú-bhi*h* sánti ká*n*veshu va*h* dúva*h*, tátro (íti) sú mâdayâdhvai.

---

10. Wilson: They are the generators of speech: they spread out the waters in their courses: they urge the lowing (cattle) to enter (the water), up to their knees, (to drink.)

Benfey: In ihrem Lauf erheben dann diese Söhne Getös und Fluth, die bis zum Knie den Kühen geht.

Langlois: Ces (dieux) répandent le son comme on répand la libation. Leur souffle étend les voies du ciel; (l'eau tombe) et la vache (en s'y désaltérant), y entre jusqu'aux genoux.

11. Wilson: They drive before them, in their course, the long, vast, uninjurable, rain-retaining cloud.

Benfey: Dann treiben sie im Sturm heran jenen langen und breiten Spross der Wolke unerschöpflichen.

Langlois: (Voyez-vous) ce long et large (nuage), fils de l'onde (qui s'y amoncelle)? (Il semble) invulnérable. (Les Marouts) savent le chemin par lequel on arrive jusqu'à lui pour l'ébranler.

12. Wilson: Maruts, as you have vigour, invigorate mankind: give animation to the clouds.

10. And these sons, the singers,[1] enlarged the fences in their coursings;[2] the cows had to walk knee-deep.

11. They cause this long and broad unceasing rain[1] to fall on their ways.

12. O Maruts, with such strength as yours, you have caused men to fall,[1] you have caused the mountains to fall.

13. As the Maruts pass[1] along, they talk together on the way: does any one hear them?

14. Come fast on your quick steeds! there are worshippers[1] for you among the Kanvas: may you well rejoice among them.

Benfey: O Marut's! mit der Kraft, die ihr besitzt, werft ihr Geschöpfe um, die Berge werft ihr um sogar.

Langlois: O Marouts, puisque vous avez la force, faites-la sentir aux hommes, faites-la sentir aux collines.

13. Wilson: Wherever the Maruts pass, they fill the way with clamour: every one hears their (noise).

Benfey: Wenn die Marut's des Weges ziehn, dann sprechen mit einander sie und mancher mag sie hören.

Langlois: Quand les Marouts sont en marche, le chemin retentit de leur voix: chacun les entend.

14. Wilson: Come quickly, with your swift (vehicles). The offerings of the Kañwas are prepared. Be pleased with them.

Benfey: Auf schnellen kommet schnell herbei, bei Kanva's Spross sind Feste euch: da wollt euch schön ergötzen.

Langlois: Accourez, portez ici vos pas rapides. Les enfants de Canwa vous attendent avec leurs offrandes; ici vous serez satisfaits.

15. Ásti hí sma mádâya vaḥ smási sma vayám eshâm, vísvam kit ấyuḥ gîváse.

---

15. Wilson: The offering is prepared for your gratification: we are your (worshippers), that we may live all our life.

Benfey: Gerüstet ist für euren Rausch und wir gehören,

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Kaṇva, the son of Ghora. The metre is Gâyatrî.

Verse 1, note [1]. Wilson translates anarvấṇam by without horses, though the commentator distinctly explains the word by without an enemy. Wilson considers it doubtful whether árvan can ever mean enemy. The fact is, that in the Rig-veda an-arván never means without horses, but always without hurt or free from enemies; and the commentator is perfectly right, as far as the sense is concerned, in rendering the word by without an enemy, or unopposed (apraty-ṛita). An-arván is not formed from árvat, horse, racer, but from árvan; and this is derived from the same root which yields árus, n. a wound. The accusative of anarvat, without a horse, would be anarvantam, not anarvâṇam.

The root ar, in the sense of hurting, is distantly connected with the root mar: see Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p. 323. It exists in the Greek ὄλλυμι, corresponding to Sanskrit ṛiṇomi, i. e. arnomi, I hurt, likewise in οὐλή, wound, which cannot be derived from ὅλη; in οὖλος, οὔλιος, hurtful, and ὀλοός, destructive: see Curtius, Grundzüge der Griechischen Etymologie (zweite Ausgabe), pp. 59, 505. In the Veda ar has the sense of offending or injuring, particularly if preceded by upa.

x. 164, 3. yát â-sásâ niḥ-sásâ abhi-sásâ upa-ârimá gấgrataḥ yát svapántaḥ, agníḥ vísvâni ápa duḥ-kritấni águshṭâni âré asmát dadhâtu.

15. Truly there is enough for your rejoicing. We always are their servants, that we may live even the whole of life.

---

traun! euch an für unser ganzes Lebelang.

LANGLOIS: Agréez notre sacrifice, car nous vous sommes dévoués. Daignez nous assurer une longue existence.

If we have offended, or whatever fault we have committed, by bidding, blaming, or forbidding, while waking or while sleeping, may Agni remove all wicked misdeeds far from us.

Hence upârá, injury, vii. 86, 6. ásti gyấyân kánîyasaḥ upa-aré, the older man is there to injure, to offend, to mislead, the young: (History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, second edition, p. 541.) Roth translates upârá by *Verfehlung*, missing. Ari, enemy, too, is best derived from this root, and not from râ, to give, with the negative particle, as if meaning originally, as Sâyaṇa supposes, a man who does not give. In árarivân, gen. árarushaḥ, hostile, Rosen recognized many years ago a participle of a really reduplicated perfect of ar, and he likewise traced aráru, enemy, back to the same root: see his note to i. 18, 3.

From this root ar, to hurt, árvan, hurting, as well as árus, wound, are derived in the same manner as both dhánvan and dhánus, bow, are formed from dhan; yágvan and yágus from yag, párvan and párus from par. See Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 233.

Anarván, then, is the same as ánarus, Sat. P. Brâhmaṇa iii. 1, 3, 7; and from meaning originally without a wound or without one who can wound, it takes the more general sense of uninjured, invulnerable, perfect, strong, (cf. integer, intact, and entire.) This meaning is applicable to i. 94, 2; 136, 5; ii. 6, 5; v. 49, 4; vii. 20, 3; 97, 5; x. 61, 13; 65, 3. In i. 116, 16, anarván seems to be used as an adverb; in i. 51, 12, as applied to slóka, it may have the more general meaning of irresistible, powerful.

There are two passages in which the nom. sing. árvân, and one in which the acc. sing. árvâ*n*am, occur, apparently meaning horse. But in i. 163, 13, and ix. 97, 25, árvân stands in the Pada text only, the Sanhitâ has árvâ á*kkh*a and árvâ iva. In x. 46, 5, the text híri-*s*ma*s*rum ná árvâ*n*am dhána-ar*k*am is too doubtful to allow of any safe induction, particularly as the Sâma-veda gives a totally different reading. I do not think therefore that árvat, horse, admits in the nom. and acc. sing. of any forms but árvâ and árvantam. Pâ*n*ini (vi. 4, 127) allows the forms arvân and arvâ*n*am, but in anarvan only, which, as we saw, has nothing in common with árvat, horse. Benfey: 'die rascheste (keinen Renner habend, uneinholbar),' the quickest (having no racer, hence not to be reached).

The masculine anarvâ*n*am after the neuter *s*árdhas is curious; *s*árdhas means might, but it is here used to express a might or an aggregate of strong men or gods, and the nom. plur. yé, who, in the next verse, shows the same transition of thought, not only from the singular to the plural, but also from the neuter to the masculine, which must be admitted in anarvâ*n*am. It would be possible, if necessary, to explain away the irregularity of anarvâ*n*am by admitting a rapid transition from the Maruts to Indra, the eldest among the Maruts (cf. i. 23, 8. índra-*g*yesh*th*â*h* márutga*n*â*h*), and it would be easier still to alter *s*árdhas into *s*árdham, as an accusative singular of the masculine noun *s*árdha, which has the same meaning as the neuter *s*árdhas. There is one passage, v. 56, 9, which would seem to give ample countenance to such a conjecture:

tám va*h* *s*árdham rathe-*s*úbham—â huve.

I call hither this your host, brilliant on chariots.

Again, ii. 30, 11, we read:

tám va*h* *s*árdham mârutam—girâ úpa bruve.

I call with my voice on this your host of Maruts.

viii. 93, 16. *s*rutám va*h* v*r*itrahán-tamam prá *s*árdham *k*arsha*n*înâm, â *s*ushe.

I pant for the glorious, victorious, host of the quick Maruts.

From this *s*árdha we have also the genitive *s*árdhasya, vii. 56, 8 (4):

subhrá*h* va*h* súshma*h* krúdhmî mánâ*m*si dhúni*h* múni*h*-iva sárdhasya dh*r*ish*n*ó*h*.

Your strength is brilliant, your minds furious; the shout of the daring host is like one possessed.

We have likewise the dative sárdhâya, the instrumental sárdhena, and the acc. plur. sárdhân; and in most cases, except in two or three where sárdha seems to be used as an adjective, meaning strong, these words are applied to the host of the Maruts.

But the other word sárdhas is equally well authenticated, and we find of it, not only the nominative, accusative, and vocative sing. sárdhas, but likewise the nom. plur. sárdhâ*m*si.

The nominative singular occurs in our very hymn:

i. 37, 5. krî*l*ám yát sárdha*h* mā́rutam.

Which is the sportive host of the Maruts.

i. 127, 6. sá*h* hí sárdha*h* ná mā́rutam tuvi-sváni*h*.

For he (Agni) is strong-voiced like the host of the Maruts.

iv. 6, 10. tuvi-svanása*h* mā́rutam ná sárdha*h*.

Thy flames (Agni) are strong-voiced like the host of the Maruts.

v. 46, 5. utá tyát na*h* mā́rutam sárdha*h* ā́ gamat.

May also that host of the Maruts come to us.

ii. 1, 5. tvám narā́m sárdha*h* asi puru-vásu*h*.

Thou (Agni), full of riches, art the host of the men.

This host of men seems to me intended again for the Maruts, although it is true that in thus identifying Agni with different gods, the poet repeats himself in the next verse:

ii. 1, 6. tvám sárdha*h* mā́rutam.

Thou art the host of the Maruts.

If this repetition seems offensive, the first narā́m sárdhas might be taken for some other company of gods. Thus we find:

vii. 44, 5. s*r*inótu na*h* daívyam sárdha*h* agní*h* s*r*i*n*vántu vísve mahishā́*h* ámûrâ*h*.

May the divine host, may Agni, hear us, may the Visve hear us, the strong, the wise.

Or iii. 19, 4. sá*h* ā́ vaha devá-tâtim yavish*th*a sárdha*h* yát adyá divyám yá*g*âsi.

Bring thou hither, O Agni, the gods, that you may sacrifice to-day to the divine host.

Or i. 139, 1. ā́ nú tát *s*árdha*h* divyám vri*n*îmahe.

We chose for us now that divine host.

As in these last, so in many other passages, *s*árdhas is used as a neuter in the accusative. For instance,

i. 106, 1; ii. 11, 14. mā́rutam *s*árdha*h*.

ii. 3, 3; vi. 3, 8. *s*árdha*h* marútâm.

The vocative occurs,

v. 46, 2. ágne índra váru*n*a mítra dévâ*h* *s*árdha*h* prá yanta mā́ruta utá vish*n*o (íti).

Agni, Indra, Varu*n*a, Mitra, gods, host of the Maruts, come forth, and Vish*n*u!

We see how throughout all these passages those in which *s*árdha and *s*árdhas are applied to the Maruts, or to some other company of gods, preponderate most decidedly. Yet passages occur in the Rig-veda where both *s*árdha and *s*árdhas are applied to other hosts or companies. Thus v. 53, 10, *s*árdha refers to chariots, while in i. 133, 3, *s*árdhas is applied to evil spirits.

If the passages hitherto examined were all that occur in the Rig-veda, we might still feel startled at the construction of our verse, where *s*árdhas is not only followed by masculine adjectives in the singular, but, in the next verse, by a pronoun in the plural. But if we take the last irregularity first, we find the same construction, viz. *s*árdhas followed by yé, in iii. 32, 4:

índrasya *s*árdha*h* marúta*h* yé ā́san.

The host of Indra, that was the Maruts.

As to the change of genders, we find adjectives in the masculine after *s*árdhas, in

v. 52, 8. *s*árdha*h* mā́rutam út *s*a*m*sa satyá-*s*avasam ríbhvasam.

Celebrate the host of the Maruts, the truly vigorous, the brilliant.

Here, too, the poet afterwards continues in the plural, though as he uses the demonstrative, and not, as in our passage, the relative pronoun, we cannot quote this in support of the irregularity which has here to be explained. Anyhow the construction of our verse, though bold and

unusual, is not so unusual as to force us to adopt conjectural remedies, and in v. 58, 2, we find yé after ga*n*â*h*. On the Umbrian Çerfo Martio, as possibly the same as *s*árdha-s mãruta-s, see Grassman, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xvi. p. 190.

Verse 2, note [1]. The spotted deer (p*r*íshatî) are the recognized animals of the Maruts, and were originally, as it would seem, intended for the rain-clouds. Sâya*n*a is perfectly aware of the original meaning of p*r*íshatî, as clouds. The legendary school, he says, takes them for deer with white spots, the etymological school for the many-coloured lines of clouds: (Rv. Bh. i. 64, 8.) This passage shows that although p*r*íshatî, as Roth observes, may mean a spotted cow or a spotted horse,—the Maruts, in fact, are called sometimes p*r*ishat-a*s*vâ*h*, having piebald horses, vii. 40, 3,—yet the later tradition in India had distinctly declared in favour of spotted deer. The Vedic poets, however, admitted both ideas, and they speak in the same hymn, nay, in the same verse, of the fallow deer and of the horses of the Maruts. Thus v. 58, 1, the Maruts are called â*s*ú-a*s*vâ*h*, possessed of quick horses; and in v. 58, 6, we read yát prá áyâsish*t*a p*r*íshatîbhi*h* á*s*vai*h*—ráthebhi*h*, where the gender of p*r*íshatîbhi*h* would hardly allow us to join it with á*s*vai*h*, but where we must translate: When you come with the deer, the horses, the chariots.

Verse 2, note [2]. The spears and daggers of the Maruts are meant for the thunderbolts, and the glittering ornaments for the lightning. Sâya*n*a takes vã*s*î in this passage for war-cries on the authority of the Nirukta, where vã*s*î is given among the names of the voice. From other passages, however, it becomes clear that vã*s*î is a weapon of the Maruts; and Sâya*n*a, too, explains it sometimes in that sense: cf. v. 53, 4; 57, 2. Thus i. 88, 3, the vã*s*îs are spoken of as being on the bodies of the Maruts. In v. 53, 4, the Maruts are said to shine in their ornaments and their vã*s*îs. Here Sâya*n*a, too, translates vã*s*î rightly by weapon; and in his remarks on i. 88, 3, he says that vã*s*î was a weapon commonly called ârâ, which is a shoemaker's awl. This reminds one of *framea* which at one time

was supposed to be connected with the German *pfrieme*. See, however, Grimm (Deutsche Grammatik, vol. i. p. 128) and Leo Meyer (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. vi. p. 424). In viii. 29, 3, the god Tvash*t*ar is said to carry an iron vâ*s*î in his hand. Grassman (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xvi. p. 163) translates vâ*s*î by axe. That añ*g*í is to be taken in the sense of ornament, and not in the sense of ointment, is shown by passages like viii. 29, 1, where a golden ornament is mentioned, añ*g*í aṅkte hira*n*yáyam. Sâkám, together, is used with reference to the birth of the Maruts, i. 64, 4. It should not be connected with vâ*s*îbhi*h*.

Verse 3, note [1]. Eshâm should be pronounced as a creticus; also in verses 9, 13, 15. This is a very common vyûha.

Verse 3, note [2]. I should have taken *k*itrám as an adverb, like Benfey, if ni *r*iñ*g* were not usually construed with an accusative. *Riñg* in the 3rd pers. plur. pres. Âtm. is treated like a verb of the Ad-class.

Verse 3, note [3]. The locative yâman is frequently used of the path on which the gods move and approach the sacrifice; hence it sometimes means, as in our passage, in the sky. Yâmam in B. R., s. v. ar*g*, is wrong.

Verse 4, note [1]. Benfey translates gh*r*íshvi by burrowing, and refers it to the thunderbolt that uproots the earth. He points out that gh*r*íshvi means also, for the same reason, the boar, as proved by Kuhn (Die Herabkunft des Feuers, S. 202). I prefer, however, the general sense assigned to the adjective gh*r*íshu and gh*r*íshvi, exuberant, brisk, wild. See Kuhn in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xi. p. 385. Wilson, after Sâya*n*a, translates destroyers of foes. On the representation of the clouds as boars, see Nir. v. 4.

Verse 4, note [2]. Tveshá-dyumna is difficult to render. Both tveshá and dyumná are derived from roots that mean to shine, to be bright, to glow. Derivatives from tvish express the idea of fieriness, fierceness, and fury. In iv. 17, 2, tvish is used correlatively with manyú, wrath.

Derivatives from dyu convey the idea of brightness and briskness. Both qualities are frequently applied to the Maruts.

Verse 5, note [1]. This translation is merely conjectural. I suppose that the wind driving the clouds before him, is here compared to a bull among cows, cf. v. 52, 3:

té syandrā́sa*h* ná ukshá*n*a*h* áti skandanti *s*árvarî*h*.

They, the Maruts, like rushing oxen, mount on the dark cows.

The last sentence states that the wind grows even stronger after it has tasted the rain (i. 85, 2. té ukshitā́sa*h* mahimā́nam â*s*ata).

Verse 5, note [2]. I take *g*ámbhe in the sense of *g*ámbhane. (On the root *g*abh and its derivatives, see Kuhn, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, vol. i. p. 123 seq.) It would be better to read mukhe, instead of sukhe, in the commentary. The Maruts were not born of milk for P*ri**s*ni, as Wilson says in a note, but from the milk of P*ri**s*ni. P*ri**s*ni is called their mother, Rudra their father: (v. 52, 16; 60, 5.)

Benfey takes the cows for clouds in which the lightnings dwell; and the abyss of the sap is by him supposed to be again the clouds.

Verse 6, note [1]. Ántam ná, literally, like an end, is explained by Sâya*n*a as the top of a tree. Wilson, Langlois, and Benfey accept that interpretation. Roth proposes, like the hem of a garment, which I prefer; for vastrânta, the end of a garment, is a common expression in later Sanskrit, while anta is never applied to a tree in the sense of the top of a tree. Here agra would be more appropriate.

Verse 7, note [1]. Sâya*n*a translates: 'Man has planted a firm buttress to give stability to his dwelling.' Nidadhré is the perfect Âtmanepada, and expresses the holding down of the head or the cowering attitude of man. I have taken ugrā́ya manyáve over to *g*îhîta, because these words could hardly form an apposition to yā́mâya. As the Vedic poets speak of the very mountains as shaken by the

storms, we might translate párvato girí*h* by the gnarled or rocky mount; but there is no authority for translating *g*îhîta by it is shattered, and we should have to translate, the mountain yielded or bent before your anger. Cf. v. 57, 3:

ní va*h* vánâ *g*ihate yā̂mana*h* bhiyā̂.

The forests get out of your way from fear.

v. 60, 2. vánâ *k*it ugrâ*h* *g*ihate ní va*h* bhiyā̂ p*r*ithivī̂ *k*it re*g*ate párvata*h* *k*it.

Even the forests, ye fearful Maruts, yield from fear of you; even the earth trembles, even the mountains.

Verse 8, note [1]. Á*g*ma seems to express the act of racing or running (like â*g*i, race, battle), while yā̂ma is the road itself where the racing takes place. A very similar passage occurs in i. 87, 3. The comparison of the earth (fem.) to a king (masc.) would be considered a grave offence in the later Sanskrit literature. In i. 87, 3, vithurā̂ takes the place of vi*s*páti.

Verse 9, note [1]. A very difficult verse. The birth of the Maruts is frequently alluded to, as well as their surpassing strength, as soon as born. Hence the first sentence admits of little doubt. But what follows is very abrupt. Váyas may be the plural of vi, bird, or it may be váyas, the neuter, meaning vital strength: see Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xv. p. 217. The Maruts are frequently compared to birds (cf. i. 87, 2; 88, 1), but it is usual to indicate the comparison by ná or iva. I therefore take váyas as a nom. sing. neut., in the sense of vigour, life. Nir-i is used with particular reference to the birth of a child (cf. v. 78, 7; 9).

Verse 10, note [1]. If we take sûnávo gíra*h* in the sense of the sons of voice, i. e. of thunder, the accent of gíra*h* will have to be changed. Gíra*h*, however, occurs, at least once more, in the sense of singers or poets, ix. 63, 10, where gíra*h* can only be a vocative, O ye singers! In i. 6, 6, the translation of gíra*h* by singers, i. e. the Maruts, may be contested, but if we consider that gíra*h*, in the sense of hymns, is feminine, and is followed by the very word which is here used, viz. devayánta*h*, as a feminine, viz. devayántî*h*,

vii. 18, 3, we can hardly doubt that in i. 6, 6, gírah is a masculine and means singers. The same applies to vi. 63, 10. In vi. 52, 9, the construction is, of course, quite different.

Verse 10, note [2]. The expression that the Maruts enlarged or extended the fences of their race-course, can only mean that they swept over the whole sky, and drove the clouds away from all the corners. Kâshthâ may mean the wooden enclosures (*carceres*) or the wooden poles that served as turning and winning-posts (*metæ*). The last sentence expresses the result of this race, viz. the falling of so much rain that the cows had to walk up to their knees in water. This becomes still clearer from the next verse.

Sâyana: 'These, the producers of speech, have spread water in their courses, they cause the cows to walk up to their knees in order to drink the water.'

Verse 11, note [1]. Rain is called the offspring of the cloud, mihó nápât, and is then treated as a masculine.

Verse 12, note [1]. In viii. 72, 8, akukyavît is explained by vyadârayat, he tore open. Akukyavîtana is the Vedic form of the 2nd pers. plur. of the reduplicated aorist.

Verse 13, note [1]. Yânti has to be pronounced as an amphibrachys.

Verse 14, note [1]. Benfey supposes that dúvah stands in the singular instead of the plural. But why should the plural have been used, as the singular (asti) would have created no kind of difficulty? It is better to take dúvah as a nominative plural of a noun dû, worshipper, derived from the same root which yielded dúvah, worship. We certainly find á-duvah in the sense of not-worshipping:

vii. 4, 6. mấ tvâ vayám sahasâ-van avírâh mấ ápsavah pári sadâma mấ áduvah.

May we not, O hero, sit round thee like men without strength, without beauty (cf. viii. 7, 7), without worship.

Here Sâyana explains áduvah very well by parikaranahînâh, which seems better than Roth's explanation 'zögernd, ohne Eifer.'

Ma*nd*ala I, Sûkta 38.
Ash*t*aka I, Adhyâya 3, Varga 15–17.

1. Kát ha nûnám kadha-priya*h** pitấ putrám ná hástayo*h*, dadhidhvé v*r*ikta-barhisha*h*.

2. Kvã nûnám kát va*h* ártham gánta divá*h* ná p*r*ithivyấ*h*, kvã va*h* gấva*h* ná † ra*n*yanti.

3. Kvã va*h* sumnấ návyâ*m*si máruta*h* kvã suvitấ, kvõ (íti) vís*v*âni saúbhagâ.

4. Yát yûyám p*r*isni-mâtara*h* mártâsa*h* syấtana, stotấ va*h* am*r*íta*h* syât.

5. Mấ va*h* m*r*igá*h* ná yávase *g*aritấ bhût á*g*oshya*h*, pathấ yamásya gât úpa.

6. Mó (íti) sú na*h* párâ-parâ ní*h*-*r*iti*h* du*h*-hánâ vadhît, padîsh*t*á t*r*ísh*n*ayâ sahá.

7. Satyám tveshấ*h* áma-vanta*h* dhánvan *k*it ấ rudríyâsa*h*, míham k*r*i*n*vanti avâtấm ‡.

8. Vâs*r*ấ-iva vi-dyút mimâti vatsám ná mâtấ si-sakti, yát eshâm v*r*ish*t*í*h* ásar*g*i.

9. Dívâ *k*it táma*h* k*r*i*n*vanti par*g*ányena uda-vâhéna, yát p*r*ithivî́m vi-undánti.

10. Ádha svanất marútâm vísvam ấ sádma pấrthi-vam, áre*g*anta prá mấnushâ*h*.

---

* kádha priyá*h* † Omit ná ‡ ávâtam

Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. What then now? When[1] will you take (us) as a dear father takes his son by both hands, O ye gods, for whom the sacred grass has been trimmed?[2]

2. Whither now? On what errand of yours are you going, in heaven, not on earth?[1] Where are your cows sporting?[2]

3. Where are your newest favours,[1] O Maruts? Where the blessings? Where all delights?

4. If you, sons of P*ri*s*n*i, were mortals, and your worshipper an immortal,[1]—

5. Then never[1] should your praiser be unwelcome, like a deer in pasture grass,[2] nor should he go on the path of Yama.[3]

6. Let not one sin[1] after another, difficult to be conquered, overcome us; may it depart[2] together with lust.

7. Truly they are furious and powerful; even to the desert the Rudriyas bring rain that is never dried up.[1]

8. The lightning lows like a cow, it follows as a mother follows after her young, that the shower (of the Maruts) may be let loose.[1]

9. Even by day the Maruts create darkness with the water-bearing cloud,[1] when they drench the earth.

10. From the shout of the Maruts over the whole space of the earth,[1] men reeled forward.

11. Márutah vîlupânî-bhih * kitrâh ródhasvatîh ánu, yâtá îm ákhidrayâma-bhih.

12. Sthirâh vah santu nemáyah ráthâh ásvâsah eshâm, sú-samskritâh abhîsavah.

13. Ákkha vada tánâ girâ garâyai bráhmanah pátim, agním mitrám ná darsatám.

14. Mimîhí slókam âsyê pargányah-iva tatanah, gâya gâyatrám ukthyãm.

15. Vándasva mârutam ganám tveshám panasyúm arkínam, asmé (íti) vriddhâh asan ihá.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Kanva, the son of Ghora. The metre is Gâyatrî throughout. Several verses, however, end in a spondee instead of the usual iambus. No attempt should be made to improve such verses by conjecture, for they are clearly meant to end in spondees. Thus in verses 2, 7, 8, and 9, all the three pâdas alike have their final spondee. In verse 7, the ionicus a minore is with an evident intention repeated thrice.

Verse 1, note [1]. Kadha-priyah is taken in the Padapâtha as one word, and Sâyana explains it by delighted by or delighting in praise, a nominative plural. A similar compound, kadha-priya, occurs in i. 30, 20, and there too the vocative sing. fem., kadhapriye, is explained by Sâyana as fond of praise. In order to obtain this meaning, kadha has to be identified with kathâ, story, which is simply impossible. There is another compound, adha-priyâ, nom. dual,

---

* vîlúpâni-bhih ?

11. Maruts on your strong-hoofed steeds[1] go on easy roads[3] after those bright ones (the clouds), which are still locked up.[2]

12. May your felloes be strong, the chariots, and their horses, may your reins[1] be well-fashioned.

13. Speak out for ever with thy voice to praise the Lord of prayer,[1] Agni, who is like a friend,[2] the bright one.

14. Fashion a hymn in thy mouth! Expand like a cloud![1] Sing a song of praise.

15. Worship the host of the Maruts, the brisk, the praiseworthy, the singers.[1] May the strong ones stay here among us.[2]

---

which occurs viii. 8, 4, and which Sâyana explains either as delighted here below, or as a corruption of kadha-priyâ.

In Boehtlingk and Roth's Dictionary, kadha-priya and kadha-prî are both explained as compounds of kadha, an interrogative adverb, and priya or prî, to love or delight, and they are explained as meaning kind or loving to whom? In the same manner adha-priya is explained as kind then and there.

It must be confessed, however, that a compound like kadha-prî, kind to whom?, is somewhat strange, and it seems preferable to separate the words, and to write kádha priyá and ádha priyá.

It should be observed that the compounds kadha-prî and kadha-priya occur always in sentences where there is another interrogative pronoun. The two interrogatives kát—kádha, what—where, and kás—kádha, who—where, occurring in the same sentence, an idiom so common in Greek, may have puzzled the author of the Pada text, and the compound once sanctioned by the authority of Sâkalya, Sâyana would explain it as best he could. But if we admit the double use of the interrogative in Sanskrit, as in Greek,

then, in our passage, priyá*h* would be an adjective belonging to pitã, and we might translate: 'What then now? When will you take (us), as a dear father takes his son by both hands, O ye Maruts?' In the same manner we ought to translate i. 30, 20:

ká*h* te usha*h* kádha priye bhu*g*é márta*h* amartye.

Who and where was there a mortal to be loved by thee, O beloved, immortal Dawn?

In viii. 7, 31, where the same words are repeated as in our passage, it is likewise better to write:

kát ha nûnám kádha priyá*h* yát índram á*g*ahâtana, ká*h* va*h* sakhi-tvé ohate.

What then now? Where is there a friend, now that you have forsaken Indra? Who cares for your friendship?

Why in viii. 8, 4, adha priyâ should have been joined into one word is more difficult to say, yet here, too, the compound might easily be separated.

Kádha does not occur again, but would be formed in analogy with ádha. It occurs in Zend as kadha.

The words kát ha nûnám commonly introduce an interrogative sentence, literally, What then now? cf. x. 10, 4.

Verse 1, note [2]. V*r*ikta-barhis is generally a name of the priest, so called because he has to trim the sacrificial grass. 'The sacred Ku*s*a grass (Poa cynosuroides), after having had the roots cut off, is spread on the Vedi or altar, and upon it the libation of Soma-juice, or oblation of clarified butter, is poured out. In other places, a tuft of it in a similar position is supposed to form a fitting seat for the deity or deities invoked to the sacrifice. According to Mr. Stevenson, it is also strewn over the floor of the chamber in which the worship is performed.'

Cf. vi. 11, 5. v*r*iñ*g*é ha yát námasâ barhí*h* agnaú, áyâmi srúk gh*r*itá-vatî su-v*r*iktí*h*.

When I reverentially trim the truss for Agni, when the well-trimmed ladle, full of butter, is stretched forth.

In our passage, unless we change the accent, it must be taken as an epithet of the Maruts, they for whom the grass-altar has been prepared. They are again invoked by the same name, viii. 7, 20:

kvã nûnám su-dânavah mádatha vrikta-barhishah.

Where do ye rejoice now, you gods for whom the altar is trimmed?

Otherwise, vrikta-barhishah might, with a change of accent, supply an accusative to dadhidhve: 'Will you take the worshippers in your arms?' This, however, is not necessary, as to take by the hand may be used as a neuter verb.

Benfey: 'Wo weilt ihr gern? was habt ihr jetzt—gleichwie ein Vater seinen Sohn—in Händen, da das Opfer harrt?'

Wilson: 'Maruts, who are fond of praise, and for whom the sacred grass is trimmed, when will you take us by both hands as a father does his son?'

Verse 2, note [1]. The idea of the first verse, that the Maruts should not be detained by other pursuits, is carried on in the second. The poet asks, what they have to do in the sky, instead of coming down to the earth. The last sentence seems to mean 'where tarry your herds?' viz. the clouds. Sâyana translates: 'Where do worshippers, like lowing cows, praise you?' Wilson: 'Where do they who worship you cry to you like cattle.' Benfey: 'Wo jauchzt man euch, gleich wie Stiere? (Ihre Verehrer brüllen vor Freude über ihre Gegenwart, wie Stiere.)' The verb ranyati, however, when followed by an accusative, means to love, to accept with pleasure. The gods accept the offerings and the prayers:

v. 18, 1. vísvâni yáh ámartyah havyã márteshu ránvati.

The immortal who deigns to accept all offerings among mortals.

v. 74, 3. kásya bráhmâni ranyathah.

Whose prayers do ye accept?

Followed by a locative ranyati means to delight in. Both the gods are said to delight in prayers (viii. 12, 18; 33, 16), and prayers are said to delight in the gods (viii. 16, 2). I therefore take ranyanti in the sense of tarrying, disporting, and ná, if it is to be retained, in the sense of not; where do they not sport? meaning that they are to be found everywhere, except where the poet desires them to be. We thus get rid of the simile of singing poets and lowing cows, which,

though not too bold for Vedic bards, would here come in too abruptly. It would be much better, however, if the negative particle could be omitted altogether. If we retain it, we must read: kvã́ vá*h* | gâvá*h* | na rá*n* | yantí | . But the fact is that through the whole of the Rig-veda kvã́ has always to be pronounced as two syllables, kuva. There is only one passage, v. 61, 2, where, before a vowel, we have to read kva: kuva vo 'svâ*h*, kvâbhîsava*h*. In other passages, even before vowels, we always have to read kuva, e.g. i. 161, 4. kuvet = kva it; i. 105, 4. kuvartam = kva *r*itam. In i. 35, 7, we must read either kuvedânîm sûrya*h*, making sûrya*h* trisyllabic, or kuva idânîm, leaving a hiatus. In i. 168, 6, kvâvaram is kuvâvaram: *S*âkalya, forgetting this, and wishing to improve the metre, added na, thereby, in reality, destroying both the metre and the sense. Kva occurs as dissyllabic in the Rig-veda at least forty-one times.

Verse 3, note [1]. The meanings of sumná in the first five Ma*nd*alas are well explained by Professor Aufrecht in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. iv. p. 274. As to suvitã́ in the plural, see x. 86, 21, and viii. 93, 29, where Indra is said to bring all suvita's. It frequently occurs in the singular:

x. 148, 1. ã́ na*h* bhara suvitám yásya *k*âkán.

Verse 4, note [1]. One might translate: 'If you, sons of P*r*isni, were mortals, the immortal would be your worshipper.' But this seems almost too deep and elaborate a compliment for a primitive age. Langlois translates: 'Quand vous ne seriez pas immortels, (faites toutefois) que votre panégyriste jouisse d'une longue vie.' Wilson's translation is obscure: 'That you, sons of Pṛiśni, may become mortals, and your panegyrist become immortal.' Sâya*n*a translates: 'Though you, sons of P*r*isni, were mortal, yet your worshipper would be immortal.' I think it best to connect the fourth and fifth verses, and I feel justified in so doing by other passages where the same or a similar idea is expressed, viz. that if the god were the poet and the poet the god, then the poet would be more liberal to the god than the god is to him. Thus I translated a passage,

vii. 32, 18, in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 545: 'If I were lord of as much as thou, I should support the sacred bard, thou scatterer of wealth, I should not abandon him to misery. I should award wealth day by day to him who magnifies, I should award it to whosoever it be.' Another parallel passage is pointed out by Mr. J. Muir. (On the Interpretation of the Veda, p. 79.) viii. 19, 25: 'If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I were an immortal, I should not abandon thee to malediction or to wretchedness; my worshipper should not be miserable or distressed.' Still more to the point is another passage, viii. 44, 23: 'If I were thou, and thou wert I, then thy wishes should be fulfilled.' See also viii. 14, 1, 2.

As to the metre it is clear that we ought to read
– –⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
martâsa*h* syâtana.

Verse 5, note [1]. Mấ, though it seems to stand for ná, retains its prohibitive sense.

Verse 5, note [2]. Yávasa is explained by Sâya*n*a as grass, and Wilson's Dictionary, too, gives to it the meaning of meadow or pasture grass, whereas yava is barley. The Greek ζεά or ζειά is likewise explained as barley or rye, fodder for horses. See i. 91, 13. gấva*h* ná yávaseshu, like cows in meadows.

Verse 5, note [3]. The path of Yama can only be the path that leads to Yama, as the ruler of the departed.

x. 14, 8. sám ga*kkh*asva pit*r*í-bhi*h* sám yaména.

Meet with the fathers, meet with Yama, (x. 14, 10; 15, 8.)

x. 14, 7. yamám pa*s*yâsi váru*n*am *k*a devám.

Thou wilt see (there) Yama and the divine Varu*n*a.

x. 165, 4. tásmai yamấya náma*h* astu m*r*ityáve.

Adoration to that Yama, to Death!

Wilson: 'Never may your worshipper be indifferent to you, as a deer (is never indifferent) to pasture, so that he may not tread the path of Yama.' Benfey: 'Wer euch besingt, der sei euch nicht gleichgültig, wie das Wild im Gras, nicht wandl' er auf des Yama Pfad.' *Ag*oshya is translated insatiable by Professor Goldstücker.

Verse 6, note [1]. One of the meanings of nírriti is sin. It is derived from the same root which yielded ritá, in the sense of right. Nírriti was conceived, it would seem, as going away from the path of right, the German *Vergehen*. Nírriti was personified as a power of evil and destruction.

vii. 104, 9. áhaye vâ tấn pra-dádâtu sómah ấ vâ dadhâtu níh-riteh upá-sthe.

May Soma hand them over to Ahi, or place them in the lap of Nirriti.

i. 117, 5. susupvấmsam ná níh-riteh upá-sthe.

Like one who sleeps in the lap of Nirriti.

Here Sâyana explains Nirriti as earth, and he attaches the same meaning to the word in other places which will have to be considered hereafter. Cf. Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, pp. 515, 516.

Wilson treats Nirriti as a male deity, and translates the last words, 'let him perish with our evil desires.'

Verse 6, note [2]. Padîshtá is formed as an optative of the Âtmanepada, but with the additional s before the t, which, in the ordinary Sanskrit, is restricted to the so-called benedictive (Grammar, § 385; Bopp, Kritische Grammatik, ed. 1834, § 329, note). Pad means originally to go, but in certain constructions it gradually assumed the meaning of to perish, and native commentators are inclined to explain it by pat, to fall. One can watch the transition of meaning from going into perishing in such phrases as V. S. xi. 46. mâ pâdy âyushah purâ, literally, 'may he not go before the time,' but really intended for 'may he not die before the time.' In the Rig-veda padîshtá is generally qualified by some words to show that it is to be taken in *malam partem*. Thus in our passage, and in iii. 53, 21; vii. 104, 16; 17. In i. 79, 11, however, padîshtá sáh is by itself used in a maledictory sense, *pereat*, may he perish! In another, vi. 20, 5, pấdi by itself conveys the idea of perishing. This may have some weight in determining the origin of the Latin *pestis* (Corssen, Kritische Beiträge, p. 396), for it shows that, even without prepositions, such as *â* or *vi*, pad may have an ill-omened meaning. In the Aitareya-brâhmana vii. 14 (History of

Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 471), pad, as applied to a child's teeth, means to go, to fall out. With sam, however, pad has always a good meaning, and this shows that originally its meaning was neutral.

Verse 7, note [1]. The only difficult word is avâtấm. Sâya*n*a explains it, 'without wind.' But it is hardly possible to understand how the Maruts, themselves the gods of the storm, the sons of Rudra, could be said to bring clouds without wind. Langlois, it is true, translates without any misgivings: 'Ces dieux peuvent sur un sol desséché faire tomber la pluie sans l'accompagner de vent.' Wilson: 'They send down rain without wind upon the desert.' Benfey saw the incongruous character of the epithet, and explained it away by saying that the winds bring rain, and after they have brought it, they moderate their violence in order not to drive it away again; hence rain without wind. Yet even this explanation, though ingenious, and, as I am told, particularly truthful in an Eastern climate, is somewhat too artificial. If we changed the accent, ávâtâm, unchecked, unconquered, would be better than avâtấm, windless. But ávâta, unconquered, does not occur in the Rig-veda, except as applied to persons. It occurs most frequently in the phrase vanván ávâta*h*, which Sâya*n*a explains well by hi*m*san ahi*m*sita*h*, hurting, but not hurt: (vi. 16, 20; 18, 1; ix. 89, 7.) In ix. 96, 8, we read p*r*it-sú vanván ávâta*h*, in battles attacking, but not attacked, which renders the meaning of ávâta perfectly clear. In vi. 64, 5, where it is applied to Ushas, it may be translated by unconquerable, intact.

There are several passages, however, where avâta occurs with the accent on the last syllable, and where it is accordingly explained as a Bahuvrîhi, meaning either windless or motionless, from vâta, wind, or from vâta, going, (i. 62, 10.) In some of these passages we can hardly doubt that the accent ought to be changed, and that we ought to read ávâta. Thus in vi. 64, 4, avâte is clearly a vocative applied to Ushas, who is called ávâtâ, unconquerable, in the verse immediately following. In i. 52, 4, the Maruts are called avâtâ*h*, which can only be ávâtâ*h*, unconquerable; nor can we hesitate in viii. 79, 7, to change avâtá*h* into ávâta*h*, as an

epithet applied to Soma, and preceded by ád*r*iptakratu*h*, of unimpaired strength, unconquerable.

But even then we find no evidence that ávâta, unconquered, could be applied to rain or to a cloud, and I therefore propose another explanation, though equally founded on the supposition that the accent of avâtâm in our passage should be on the first syllable.

I take vâta as a Vedic form instead of the later vâna, the past participle of vai, to wither. Similarly we find in the Veda *g*îta, instead of *g*îna, the latter form being sanctioned by Pâ*n*ini. Vâ means to get dry, to flag, to get exhausted; ávâta therefore, as applied to a cloud, would mean not dry, not withered, as applied to rain, not dried up, but remaining on the ground. It is important to remark that in one passage, vi. 67, 7, Sâya*n*a, too, explains ávâta, as applied to rivers, by a*s*ushka, not dry; and the same meaning would be applicable to avâtā́*h* in i. 62, 10. In this sense of not withered, not dry, ávâtâm in our passage would form a perfectly appropriate epithet of the rain, while neither windless nor unconquered would yield an appropriate sense. In the famous passage x. 129, 2, ā́nît avâtám svadháyâ tát ékam, that only One breathed breathless by itself, avâtám might be taken, in accordance with its accent, as windless or breathless, and the poet may have wished to give this antithetical point to his verse. But ávâtam, as an adverb, would here be equally appropriate, and we should then have to translate, 'that only One breathed freely by itself.'

Verse 8, note [1]. The peculiar structure of the metre in the seventh and eighth verses should be noted. Though we may scan

– – – – ◡ ◡́ – – | – – ◡ – – ◡́ – – | ◡ – – – ◡ ◡́ – – |
– – ◡ – – ◡́ – – | – – ◡ – – ◡́ – – | ◡ – – – ◡ ◡́ – –

by throwing the accent on the short antepenultimate, yet the movement of the metre becomes far more natural by throwing the accent on the long penultimate, thus reading

– –́ – –́ ◡ ◡ –́ – | – –́ ◡ –́ ◡ ◡ –́ – | ◡ –́ – –́ ◡ ◡ –́ –
– –́ ◡ –́ – ◡ –́ – | – –́ ◡ –́ – ◡ – – | ◡ –́ – –́ ◡ ◡ –́ –

Sâya*n*a: 'Like a cow the lightning roars, (the lightning)

attends (on the Maruts) as the mother cow on her calf, because their rain is let loose at the time of lightning and thunder.'

Wilson: 'The lightning roars like a parent cow that bellows for its calf, and hence the rain is set free by the Maruts.'

Benfey: 'Es blitzt—wie eine Kuh brüllt es—die Mutter folgt dem Kalb gleichsam—wenn ihr Regen losgelassen. (Der Donner folgt dem Blitz, wie eine Kuh ihrem Kalbe.)'

Vâsrá as a masculine means a bull, and it is used as a name of the Maruts in some passages, viii. 7, 3; 7. As a feminine it means a cow, particularly a cow with a calf, a milch cow. Hence also a mother, x. 119, 4. The lowing of the lightning must be intended for the distant thunder, and the idea that the lightning goes near or looks for the rain is not foreign to the Vedic poets. See i. 39, 9: 'Come to us, Maruts, with your entire help, as lightnings (come to, i. e. seek for) the rain!'

Verse 9, note [1]. That parǵánya here and in other places means cloud has been well illustrated by Dr. Bühler, Orient und Occident, vol. i. p. 221. It is interesting to watch the personifying process which is very palpable in this word, and by which Parǵanya becomes at last a friend and companion of Indra.

Verse 10, note [1]. Sádma, as a neuter, means originally a seat, and is frequently used in the sense of altar: iv. 9, 3. sáh sádma pári nîyate hótâ; vii. 18, 22. hótâ-iva sádma pári emi rébhan. It soon, however, assumed the more general meaning of place, as

x. 1, 1. agníh bhânúnâ rúsatâ vísvâ sádmâni aprâh.

Agni with brilliant light thou filledst all places.

It is lastly used with special reference to heaven and earth, the two sádmanî, i. 185, 6; iii. 55, 2. In our passage sádma pấrthivam is the same as pấrthive sádane in viii. 97, 5. Here the earth is mentioned together with heaven, the sea, and the sky. Sâyana takes sádma as 'dwelling,' so do Wilson and Langlois. Benfey translates 'der Erde Sitz,' and makes it the subject of the sentence: 'From the roaring of the Maruts the seat of the earth trembles, and all men tremble.' Sadman,

with the accent on the last syllable, is also used as a masculine in the Rig-veda, i. 173, 1; vi. 51, 12. sadmânam divyám.

Verse 11, note [1]. I have translated vî*l*u-pâ*n*íbhi*h*, as if it were vî*l*úpâ*n*ibhi*h*, for this is the right accent of a Bahuvrîhi compound. Thus the first member retains its own accent in p*ri*thú-pâ*n*i, bhűri-pâ*n*i, v*ri*sha-pâ*n*i, &c. It is possible that the accent may have been changed in our passage, because the compound is used, not as an adjective, but as a kind of substantive, as the name of a horse. Pâ*n*í, hand, means, as applied to horses, hoof:

ii. 31, 2. p*ri*thivyấ*h* sấnau *g*áṅghananta pâ*n*í-bhi*h*.

When they strike with their hoofs on the summit of the earth.

This meaning appears still more clearly in such compounds as dravát-pâ*n*i:

viii. 5, 35. hira*n*yáye*n*a ráthena dravátpâ*n*i-bhi*h* á*s*vai*h*.

On a golden chariot, on quick-hoofed horses.

The horses of the Maruts, which in our verse are called vî*l*u-pâ*n*í, strong-hoofed, are called viii. 7, 27. híra*n*ya-pâ*n*i, golden-hoofed:

á*s*vai*h* híra*n*yapâ*n*i-bhi*h* dévâsa*h* úpa gantana.

On your golden-hoofed horses come hither, O gods.

Those who retain the accent of the MSS. ought to translate, 'Maruts, with your strong hands go after the clouds.'

Verse 11, note [2]. Ródhasvatî is explained by Sâya*n*a as river. It does not occur again in the Rig-veda. Ródhas is enclosure or fence, the bank of a river; but it does not follow that ródhasvat, having enclosures or banks, is applicable to rivers only. ii. 15, 8, it is said that he emptied or opened the artificial enclosures of Bala, these being the clouds conquered by Indra. Hence I take ródhasvatî in the sense of a cloud yet unopened, which is followed or driven on by the Maruts.

*K*itrá, bright or many-coloured, is applied to the clouds, v. 63, 3. *k*itrébhi*h* abhrái*h*.

Verse 11, note [3]. Roth takes ákhidrayâman for a name of horse. The word does not occur again in the Rig-veda,

but the idea that the roads of the gods are easy (sugáh ádhvâ) is of frequent occurrence.

Wilson: 'Maruts, with strong hands, come along the beautifully-embanked rivers with unobstructed progress.'

Benfey: 'Mit euren starken Händen folgt den hehren eingeschlossnen nach in unermüd'tem Gang, Maruts.'

Verse 12, note [1]. Abhîsu does not mean finger in the Rig-veda, though Sâyana frequently explains it so, misled by Yâska who gives abhîsu among the names of finger. Wilson: 'May your fingers be well skilled (to hold the reins).'

Verse 13, note [1]. Agni is frequently invoked together with the Maruts, and is even called marút-sakhâ, the friend of the Maruts, viii. 92, 14. It seems better, therefore, to refer bráhmanas pátim to Agni, than, with Sâyana, to the host of the Maruts (marúdganam). Bráhmanaspáti and Bríhaspáti are both varieties of Agni, the priest and purohita of gods and men, and as such he is invoked together with the Maruts in other passages, i. 40, 1. Tánâ is an adverb, meaning constantly, always, for ever. Cf. ii. 2, 1; viii. 40, 7.

Wilson: 'Declare in our presence (priests), with voice attuned to praise Brahmaṇaspati, Agni, and the beautiful Mitra.'

Benfey: 'Lass schallen immerfort das Lied zu grüssen Brahmanaspati, Agni, Mitra, den herrlichen.'

Verse 13, note [2]. Mitra is never, as far as I know, invoked together with the Maruts, and it is better to take mitrám as friend. Besides ná cannot be left here untranslated.

Verse 14, note [1]. The second sentence is obscure. Sâyana translates: 'Let the choir of priests make a hymn of praise, let them utter or expand it, like as a cloud sends forth rain.' Wilson similarly: 'Utter the verse that is in your mouth, spread it out like a cloud spreading rain.' Benfey: 'Ein Preislied schaffe in dem Mund, ertöne dem Parganya gleich.' He takes Parganya for the god of thunder, and supposes the hymn of praise to be compared to it on

account of its loudness. Tatana*h* can only be the second person singular of the conjunctive of the reduplicated perfect, of which we have also tatánat, tatánâma, tatánan, and tatánanta. Tatana*h* can be addressed either to the host of the Maruts, or to the poet. I take it in the latter sense, for a similar verse occurs viii. 21, 18. It is said there of a patron that he alone is a king, that all others about the river Sarasvatî are only small kings, and the poet adds: 'May he spread like a cloud with the rain,' giving hundreds and thousands, (par*g*ányah-iva tatánat hí v*r*ish*t*yâ.)

Verse 15, note [1]. It is difficult to find an appropriate rendering for arkín. It means praising, celebrating, singing, and it is in the last sense only that it is applicable to the Maruts. Wilson translates, 'entitled to adoration;' Benfey, 'flaming.' Boehtlingk and Roth admit the sense of flaming in one passage, but give to arkín in this place the meaning of praising. If it simply meant, possessed of arká, i. e. songs of praise, it would be a very lame epithet after panasyú. But other passages, like i. 19, 4; 52, 15, show that the conception of the Maruts as singers was most familiar to the Vedic *R*ishis (i. 64, 10; Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. i. p. 521, note); and arká is the very name applied to their songs (i. 19, 4). In the Edda, too, 'storm and thunder are represented as a lay, as the wondrous music of the wild hunt. The dwarfs and Elbs sing the so-called Alb-leich which carries off everything, trees and mountains.' See Justi in Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 62. There is no doubt therefore that arkín here means musician, and that the arká of the Maruts is the music of the winds.

Verse 15, note [2]. V*r*iddhá, literally grown, is used in the Veda as an honorific epithet, with the meaning of mighty or great:

iii. 32, 7. yá*g*âma*h* ít námasâ v*r*iddhám índram
b*r*ihántam *r*ishvám a*g*áram yúvânam.

We worship with praise the mighty Indra, the great, the exalted, the immortal, the vigorous.

Here neither is v*r*iddhá intended to express old age, nor yúvan young age, but both are meant as laudatory epithets.

Asan is the so-called Let of as, to be. This Let is properly an imperative, which gradually sinks down to a mere subjunctive. Of as, we find the following Let forms: belonging to the present, we have ásasi, ii. 26, 2; ásati, vi. 23, 9; ásathah, vi. 63, 1; and ásatha, v. 61, 4: belonging to the imperfect, ásah, viii. 100, 2; ásat, i. 9, 5; ásâma, i. 173, 9; ásan, i. 89, 1. Ásam, a form quoted by Roth from Rig-veda x. 27, 4, is really ấsam.

We find, for instance, ásah, with an imperative or optative meaning, in

viii. 100, 2. ásah ka tvám dakshinatáh sákhâ me
ádha vritrấni ganghanâva bhū́ri.

And be thou my friend on my right hand, and we shall kill many enemies.

Here we see the transition of meaning from an imperative to the conditional. In English, too, we may say, 'Do this and you shall live,' which means nearly the same as, 'If you do this, you will live.' Thus we may translate this passage: 'And if thou be my friend on my right side, then we shall kill many enemies.'

x. 124, 1. imám nah agne úpa yagñám ấ ihi—
ásah havya-vất utá nah purah-gấh.

Here we have the imperative ihi and the Let ásah used in the same sense.

Far more frequently, however, ásah is used in relative sentences, such as,

vi. 36, 5. ásah yáthâ nah sávasâ kakânáh.

That thou mayest be ours, delighting in strength.

vii. 24, 1. ásah yáthâ nah avitấ vridhé ka.

That thou mayest be our helper and for our increase.

See also x. 44, 4; 85, 26; 36.

Wilson: 'May they be exalted by this our worship.' Benfey: 'Mögen die Hohen hier bei uns sein.'

Ma*nd*ala I, Sûkta 39.
Ash*t*aka I, Adhyâya 3, Varga 18–19.

1. Prá yát ithấ parâ-váta*h* so*k*í*h* ná mấnam ásyatha, kásya krátvâ maruta*h* kásya várpasâ kám yâtha kám ha dhûtaya*h*.

2. Sthirấ va*h* santu ấyudhâ parâ-núde vî*l*ú utá prati-skábhe, yushmấkam astu távishî pánîyasî mấ mártyasya mâyína*h*.

3. Párâ ha yát sthirám hathá nára*h* vartáyatha gurú, ví yâthana vanína*h* p*r*ithivyấ*h* ví ấsâ*h* párvatânâm.

4. Nahí va*h* sátru*h* vividé ádhi dyávi ná bhûmyâm risâdasa*h*, yushmấkam astu távishî tánâ yu*g*ấ rúdrâsa*h* nú *k*it â-dh*r*íshe.

5. Prá vepayanti párvatân vi viñ*k*anti vánaspátîn, pró (íti) ârata maruta*h* durmádâ*h*-iva dévâsa*h* sárvayâ visấ.

6. Úpo (íti) rátheshu p*r*íshatî*h* ayugdhvam práshtí*h* vahati róhita*h*, ấ va*h* yấmâya p*r*ithivī́ *k*it asrot ábîbhayanta mấnushâ*h*.

7. Ấ va*h* makshú tánâya kám rúdrâ*h* áva*h* v*r*i*n*îmahe, gánta nûnám na*h* ávasâ yáthâ purấ itthấ ká*n*vâya bibhyúshe.

8. Yushmấ-ishita*h* maruta*h* mártya-ishita*h* ấ yá*h* na*h* ábhva*h* ī́shate, ví tám yuyota sávasâ ví ó*g*asâ ví yushmấkâbhi*h* ûtí-bhi*h*.

9. Ásâmi hí pra-ya*g*yava*h* ká*n*vam dadá pra-*k*etasa*h*, ásâmi-bhi*h* maruta*h* ấ na*h* ûtí-bhi*h* gánta v*r*ish*t*ím ná vi-dyúta*h*.

Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. When you thus from afar cast forwards your measure[1] like a blast of fire, through whose wisdom is it, through whose design?[2] To whom do you go, to whom, ye shakers (of the earth)?

2. May your weapons be firm to attack, strong also to withstand. May yours be the more glorious strength, not that of the deceitful mortal.

3. When you overthrow what is firm, O ye men, and whirl about what is heavy, you pass[1] through the trees of the earth, through the clefts of the rocks.[2]

4. No real foe of yours is known in heaven, nor on earth, ye devourers of enemies! May strength be yours, together with your race,[1] O Rudras, to defy even now.[2]

5. They make the rocks to tremble, they tear asunder the kings of the forest.[1] Come on, Maruts, like madmen, ye gods with your whole tribe.

6. You have harnessed the spotted deer to your chariots, a red one draws as leader;[1] even the earth listened at your coming, and men were frightened.

7. O Rudras, we quickly desire your help for our race. Come now to us with help, as of yore; thus now also, for the sake of the frightened Ka*n*va.[1]

8. Whatever fiend, roused by you or roused by men, attacks us, tear him (from us) by your power, by your strength, by your aid.[1]

9. For you, worshipful and wise, have wholly protected[1] Ka*n*va. Come to us, Maruts, with your entire help, as lightnings[2] (go in quest of) the rain.

10. *Á*sâmi *ó*gah bibh*r*itha su-dânava*h* *á*sâmi dhû-taya*h* *s*ava*h*, *r*ishi-dvíshe maruta*h* pari-manyáve íshum n*á* *s*ri*g*ata dvísham.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Ka*n*va, the son of Ghora. The metre varies between B*r*ihatî and Satob*r*ihatî, the odd verses being composed in the former, the even verses in the latter metre. Each couple of such verses is called a Bârhata Pragâtha. The B*r*ihatî consists of 8 + 8 + 12 + 8, the Satob*r*ihatî of 12 + 8 + 12 + 8 syllables.

Verse 1, note [1]. Mấna, which I translate by measure, is explained by Sâya*n*a as meaning strength. Wilson: 'When you direct your awful vigour downwards from afar, as light (descends from heaven).' Benfey: 'Wenn ihr aus weiter Ferne so wie Strahlen schleudert euren Stolz (das worauf ihr stolz seid: euren Blitz).' Langlois: 'Lorsque vous lancez votre souffle puissant.' I doubt whether mấna is ever used in the Rig-veda in the sense of pride, which no doubt it has, as a masculine, in later Sanskrit: cf. Halâ-yudha, ed. Aufrecht, iv. 37. Mấna, as a masculine, means frequently a poet in the Rig-veda, viz. a measurer, a thinker or maker; as a neuter it means a measure, or what is measured or made. Thus v. 85, 5, we read:

mấnena-iva tasthi-vấn antárikshe ví yá*h* mamé p*r*ithivî́m sû́rye*n*a.

He (Varu*n*a) who standing in the welkin has measured the earth with the sun, as with a measure.

In this passage, as well as in ours, we must take measure, not in the abstract sense, but as a measuring line, which is cast forward to measure the distance of an object, an image, perfectly applicable to the Maruts, who seem with their weapons to strike the trees and mountains when they themselves are still far off. Another explanation might be given,

10. Bounteous givers, you possess whole strength, whole power, ye shakers (of the world). Send, O Maruts, against the wrathful enemy of the poets an enemy, like an arrow.[1]

---

if mâ̆na could be taken in the sense of measure, i. e. shape or form, but this is doubtful.

Verse 1, note [2]. Várpas, which generally means body or form, is here explained by praise. Benfey puts *Werk* (i. e. *Gesang*, *Gebet*); Langlois, *maison*. Várpas, which, without much reason, has been compared to Latin *corpus*, must here be taken in a more general sense. Thus vi. 44, 14, asyá madé purú várpâmsi vidvâ̆n, is applied to Indra as knowing many schemes, many thoughts, many things, when he is inspired by the Soma-juice.

Verse 3, note [1]. Benfey takes ví yâthana in a causative sense, you destroy, you cause the trees to go asunder. But even without assigning to yâ a causative meaning, to go through, to pierce, would convey the idea of destruction. In some passages vi-yâ is certainly used in the simple sense of passing through, without involving the idea of destruction:

viii. 73, 13. ráthah viyâ̆ti ródasî (íti).

Your chariot which passes through or between heaven and earth.

In other passages the mere passing across implies conquest and destruction:

i. 116, 20. vi-bhindúnâ....ráthena ví párvatân....ayâtam.

On your dissevering chariot you went across the mountains (the clouds).

In other passages, however, a causative meaning seems equally, and even more applicable:

viii. 7, 23. ví vritrám parva-sáh yayuh ví párvatân.

They passed through Vritra piecemeal, they passed through the mountains (the clouds); or, they destroyed Vritra, cutting him to pieces, they destroyed the clouds.

Likewise i. 86, 10.ví yâta vísvam atrínam.
Walk athwart every evil spirit, or destroy every evil spirit!
We must scan vi yâthana vaninah prithivyâh.

Verse 3, note [2]. It might seem preferable to translate âsâh pârvatânâm by the spaces of the clouds, for párvata means cloud in many places. Yet here, and still more clearly in verse 5, where párvata occurs again, the object of the poet is to show the strength of the Maruts. In that case the mere shaking or bursting of the clouds would sound very tame by the side of the shaking and breaking of the forest trees. Vedic poets do not shrink from the conception that the Maruts shake even mountains, and Indra is even said to have cut off the mountain tops: iv. 19, 4. áva abhinat kakúbhah párvatânâm. In the later literature, too, the same idea occurs: Mahâbh. Vana-parva, v. 10974, dyauh svit patati kim bhûmir dîryate parvato nu kim, does the sky fall? is the earth torn asunder, or the mountain?

Verse 4, note [1]. Sâyana was evidently without an authoritative explanation of tánâ yugâ. He tries to explain it by 'through the union of you may strength to resist be quickly extended.' Wilson: 'May your collective strength be quickly exerted.' Benfey takes tánâ as adverb and leaves out yugâ: 'Zu allen Zeiten, O Furchtbarn!—sei im Nu zu überwält'gen euch die Macht.' Yugâ, an instrumental, if used together with another instrumental, becomes in the Veda a mere preposition: cf. vii. 43, 5; 95, 4. râyâ yugâ; x. 83, 3. tápasâ yugâ; x. 102, 12. vádhrinâ yugâ; vii. 32, 20. púram-dhyâ yugâ; vi. 56, 2. sákhyâ yugâ; viii. 68, 9. tvâ yugâ. As to the meaning of tán, see B. R. s. v., where tán in our passage is explained as continuation. The offspring or race of the Maruts is mentioned again in the next verse.

Verse 4, note [2]. Nú kit â-dhríshe might possibly be taken as an abrupt interrogative sentence, viz. Can it be defied? Can it be resisted? See v. 87, 2:
tát vah marutah ná â-dhríshe sávah.
Your strength, O Maruts, is not to be defied.

Verse 5, note [1]. Large trees of the forest are called the kings or lords of the forest.

Verse 6, note [1]. Práshti is explained by Sâyana as a sort of yoke in the middle of three horses or other animals, harnessed in a car; róhita as a kind of red deer. Hence Wilson remarks that the sense may be, 'The red deer yoked between them aids to drag the car.' But he adds that the construction of the original is obscure, and apparently rude and ungrammatical. Benfey translates, 'Sie führt ein flammenrothes Joch,' and remarks against Wilson that Sâyana's definition of práshti as yoke is right, but that of róhita as deer, wrong. If Sâyana's authority is to be invoked at all, one might appeal from Sâyana in this place to Sâyana viii. 7, 28, where práshti is explained by him either by quick or by pramukhe yugyamânah, harnessed in front. The verse is

yát eshâm príshatîh ráthe práshtih váhati róhitah.

When the red leader draws or leads their spotted deer in the chariot.

vi. 47, 24. práshtih is explained as tripada âdhârah; tadvad vahantîti prashtayo 'svâh. In i. 100, 17, práshtibhih, as applied to men, means friends or supporters, or, as Sâyana explains, pârsvasthair anyair rishibhih.

Verse 7, note [1]. Kanva, the author of the hymn.

Verse 8, note [1]. A very weak verse, particularly the second line, which Wilson renders by, 'Withhold from him food and strength and your assistance.' Benfey translates ábhva very happily by *Ungethüm*.

Verse 9, note [1]. The verb dadá is the second pers. plur. of the perfect of dâ, and is used here in the sense of to keep, to protect, as is well shown by B. and R. s. v. dâ 4, base dad. Sâyana did not understand the word, and took it for an irregular imperative; yet he assigned to the verb the proper sense of to keep, instead of to give. Hence Wilson: 'Uphold the sacrificer Kañva.' Benfey, less correctly, 'Den Kanva gabt ihr,' as if Kanva had been the highest gift of the Maruts.

Verse 9, note [2]. The simile, as lightnings go to the rain, is not very telling. It may have been suggested by the idea that the lightnings run about to find the rain, or the *tertium comparationis* may simply be the quickness of lightning. Wilson: 'As the lightnings bring the rain.' Benfey: '(So schnell) gleichwie der Blitz zum Regen kömmt.' Lightning precedes the rain, and may therefore be represented as looking about for the rain.

Verse 10, note [1]. Wilson: 'Let loose your anger.' Sâya*n*a: 'Let loose a murderer who hates.'

Pari-manyú, which occurs but once in the Rig-veda, corresponds as nearly as possible to the Greek περίθυμος. Manyú, like θυμός, means courage, spirit, anger; and in the compound parimanyú, as in περίθυμος, the preposition pári seems to strengthen the simple notion of the word. That pári is used in that sense in later Sanskrit is well known; for instance, in parilaghu, *perlevis*, parikshâma, withered away: see Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, second edition, vol. i. p. 487. How pári, originally meaning round about, came to mean excessive, is difficult to explain with certainty. It may have been, because what surrounds exceeds, but it may also have been because what is done all around a thing is done thoroughly. Thus we find in the Veda, viii. 75, 9, pári-dveshas, lit. one who hates all around, then a great hater:

mấ na*h* pári-dveshasa*h* a*m*hatí*h*, ûrmí*h* ná nấvam ấ vadhît.

May the grasp of the violent hater strike us not, as the wave strikes a ship.

Again, pari-sp*ri*dh means literally one who strives round about, then an eager enemy, a rival (fem.):

ix. 53, 1. nudásva yấ*h* pari-sp*ri*dha*h*.

Drive away those who are rivals.

Pari-kro*s*á means originally one who shouts at one from every side, who abuses one roundly, then an angry reviler. This word, though not mentioned in B. R.'s Dictionary, occurs in

i. 29, 7. sárvam pari-kro*s*ám *g*ahi.

Kill every reviler!

The same idea which is here expressed by pari-kro*s*á, is

in other places expressed by pari-ráp, lit. one who shouts round about, who defies on every side, a calumniator, an enemy.

ii. 23, 3. ā́ vi-bā́dhya pari-rápa*h*.

Having struck down the enemies.

ii. 23, 14. ví pari-rápa*h* ardaya.

Destroy the enemies.

In the same way as words meaning to hate, to oppose, to attack, are strengthened by this preposition, which conveys the idea of round about, we also find words expressive of love strengthened by the same preposition. Thus from prîtá*h*, loved, we have pári-prîta*h*, lit. loved all round, then loved very much: i. 190, 6. pári-prîta*h* ná mitrá*h*; cf. x. 27, 12. We also find ix. 72, 1. pari-príya*h*, those who love fully or all around, which may mean great lovers, or surrounding friends.

In all these cases the intensifying power of pári arises from representing the action of the verb as taking place on every side, thoroughly, excessively; but in other cases, mentioned by Professor Pott, particularly where this preposition is joined to a noun which implies some definite limit, its magnifying power is no doubt due to the fact that what is around, is outside, and therefore beyond. Thus in Greek *περίμετρος* expresses the same idea as *ὑπέρμετρος* (loc. cit. p. 488), but I doubt whether pári ever occurs in that sense in Sanskrit compounds.

Mandala I, Sûkta 64.
Ashtaka I, Adhyâya 5, Varga 6–8.

1. V*r*íshne *s*árdhâya sú-makhâya vedháse nódha*h* su-v*r*iktím prá bhara marút-bhya*h*, apá*h** ná dhî́ra*h* mánasâ su-hástya*h* gíra*h* sám añ*g*e vidátheshu â-bhúva*h*.

2. Té *gag*ñire divá*h* *r*ishvấsa*h* ukshá*n*a*h* rudrásya máryâ*h* ásurâ*h* arepása*h*, pâvakấsa*h* *s*ú*k*aya*h* sū́ryâ*h*-iva sátvâna*h* ná drapsína*h* ghorá-varpasa*h*.

3. Yúvâna*h* rudrấ*h* a*g*árâ*h* abhok-hána*h* vavakshú*h* ádhri-gâva*h* párvatâ*h*-iva, d*r*i*l*hấ *k*it vísvâ bhúvanâni pấrthivâ prá *k*yavayanti divyấni ma*g*mánâ.

4. *K*itraí*h* añ*g*í-bhi*h* vápushe ví añ*g*ate váksha*h*-su rukmấn ádhi yetire *s*ubhé, á*m*seshu eshâm ní mim*r*iksh*u*h *r*ish*t*áya*h* sâkám *gag*ñire svadháyâ divá*h* nára*h*.

5. Í*s*âna-k*r*íta*h* dhúnaya*h* ri*s*ấdasa*h* vấtân vi-dyúta*h* távishîbhi*h* akrata, duhánti ū́dha*h* divyấni dhū́taya*h* bhū́mim pinvanti páyasâ pári-*g*raya*h*.

6. Pínvanti apá*h* marúta*h* su-dấnava*h* páya*h* gh*r*itávat vidátheshu â-bhúva*h*, átyam ná mihé ví nayanti vâ*g*ínam útsam duhanti stanáyantam ákshitam.

7. Mahishấsa*h* mâyína*h* *k*itrá-bhânava*h* giráya*h* ná

* apấ*h*?

Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. For the manly host, the majestic, the wise, for the Maruts bring thou, O Nodhas,[1] a pure offering.[2] Like a workman,[3] wise in his mind and handy, I join together words which are useful at sacrifices.

2. They are born, the tall bulls of Dyu[1] (heaven), the boys[2] of Rudra, the divine, the blameless, pure, and bright like suns; scattering rain-drops, of awful shape, like giants.[3]

3. The youthful Rudras, they who never grow old, the slayers of the demon,[1] have grown irresistible like mountains. They shake with their strength all beings, even the strongest, on earth and in heaven.

4. They deck themselves with glittering ornaments[1] for show; on their chests they fix gold (chains) for beauty;[2] the spears on their shoulders pound to pieces;[3] they were born together by themselves,[4] the men of Dyu.

5. They who confer power,[1] the roarers,[2] the devourers of foes, they made winds and lightnings by their powers. The shakers milk the heavenly udders (clouds), roaming around they fill the earth with milk (rain).

6. The bounteous[1] Maruts fill[2] (with) the fat milk (of the clouds) the waters, which are useful at sacrifices. They seem to lead[3] about the powerful horse, the cloud, to make it rain; they milk the thundering, unceasing spring.[4]

7. Mighty you are, powerful, of wonderful splendour, firmly rooted[1] like mountains, (yet) lightly

svá-tavasa*h* raghu-syáda*h*, m*r*igấ*h*-iva hastína*h* khâ-datha vánâ yát ắru*n*îshu távishî*h* áyugdhvam.

8. Si*m*hấ*h*-iva nânadati prá-*k*etasa*h* pi*s*ấ*h*-iva su-pí*s*a*h* vi*s*vá-vedasa*h*, kshápa*h* *g*ínvanta*h* p*r*íshatî-bhi*h* *r*ish*t*í-bhi*h* sám ít sa-bấdha*h* *s*ávasâ áhi-ma-nyava*h*.

9. Ródasî (íti) ấ vadata ga*n*a-*s*riya*h* n*r*í-sâ*k*a*h* *s*ûrâ*h* *s*ávasâ áhi-manyava*h*, ấ vandhúreshu amáti*h* ná dar-*s*atấ vi-dyút ná tasthau maruta*h* rátheshu va*h*.

10. Vi*s*vá-vedasa*h* rayí-bhi*h* sám-okasa*h* sám-mi-*s*lâsa*h* távishîbhi*h* vi-rap*s*ína*h*, ástâra*h* íshum dadhire gábhastyo*h* anantá-*s*ushmâ*h* v*r*ísha-khâdaya*h* nára*h*.

11. Hira*n*yáyebhi*h* paví-bhi*h* paya*h*-v*r*ídha*h* út *g*ighnante â-pathyẫ*h* ná párvatân, makhấ*h* ayấsa*h* sva-*s*r*í*ta*h* dhruva-*k*yúta*h* dudhra-k*r*íta*h* marúta*h* bhrấ*g*at-*r*ish*t*aya*h*.

12. Gh*r*íshum pâvakám vanínam ví-*k*arsha*n*im ru-drásya sûnúm havásâ g*r*i*n*îmasi, ra*g*a*h*-túram tavá-sam mấrutam ga*n*ám *r*i*g*îshí*n*am v*r*ísha*n*am sa*sk*ata *s*riyé.

13. Prá nú sá*h* márta*h* *s*ávasâ *g*ánân áti tasthaú va*h* ûtî́ maruta*h* yám ấvata, árvat-bhi*h* vấ*g*am bha-rate dhánâ n*r*í-bhi*h* â-p*r*í*kkh*yam krátum ấ ksheti púshyati.

gliding along;—you chew up forests, like elephants,[2] when you have assumed vigour among the red flames.[3]

8. Like lions they roar, the far-sighted Maruts, they are handsome like gazelles,[1] the all-knowing. By night[2] with their spotted deer (rain-clouds) and with their spears (lightnings) they rouse the companions together, they whose ire through strength is like the ire of serpents.

9. You who march in companies, the friends of man, heroes, whose ire through strength is like the ire of serpents, salute heaven and earth![1] On the seats on your chariots, O Maruts, the lightning stands, visible like light.[2]

10. All-knowing, surrounded with wealth, endowed with vigour, singers,[1] men of endless prowess, armed with strong rings,[2] they, the archers, have placed the arrow on their arms.

11. The Maruts, who with their golden fellies, increase the rain, stir up the clouds like wanderers on the road. They are brisk, indefatigable,[1] they move by themselves; they throw down what is firm, the Maruts with their brilliant spears make (everything) to reel.[2]

12. We invoke with prayer[1] the offspring of Rudra, the brisk, the bright, the worshipful,[2] the active. Cling[3] for happiness-sake to the strong host of the Maruts, the chasers of the sky,[4] the vigorous, the impetuous.[5]

13. The mortal whom ye, Maruts, protected with your protection, he indeed surpasses people in strength. He carries off food with his horses, treasures with his men; he acquires honourable[1] strength, and he prospers.[2]

14. *K*arkrítyam maruta*h* prit-sú dustáram dyumántam *s*úshmam maghávat-su dhattana, dhanasprítam ukthyãm vi*s*vá-*k*arsha*n*im tokám pushyema tánayam *s*atám hímâ*h*.

15. Nú sthirám maruta*h* vîrá-vantam *r*iti-sáham rayím asmã́su dhatta, sahasrí*n*am *s*atínam *s*ûsu-vã́*m*sam prâtá*h* makshú dhiyã́-vasu*h* *g*agamyât.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Nodhas, of the family of Gotama. The metre from verse 1–14 is *G*agatî, verse 15 is Trish*t*ubh.

Verse 1, note [1]. The first line is addressed by the poet to himself.

Verse 1, note [2]. Suvriktí is generally explained by a hymn of praise, and it cannot be denied that in this place, as in most others, that meaning would be quite satisfactory. Etymologically, however, suvriktí means the cleaning and trimming of the grass on which, as on a small altar, the oblation is offered: cf. vriktabarhis, i. 38, 1, note [2], page 68. Hence, although the same word might be metaphorically applied to a carefully composed, pure and holy hymn of praise, yet wherever the primary meaning is applicable it seems safer to retain it: cf. iii. 61, 5; vi. 11, 5.

Verse 1, note [3]. Apás, with the accent on the last syllable, is the accusative plural of ap, water, and it is so explained by Sâya*n*a. He translates: 'I show forth these hymns of praise, like water, i. e. everywhere, as Par*g*anya sends down rain at once in every place.' Benfey explains: 'I make these hymns smooth like water, i. e. so that they run smooth

14. Give, O Maruts, to the worshippers strength glorious, invincible in battle, brilliant, wealth-conferring, praiseworthy, known to all men.[1] Let us foster our kith and kin during a hundred winters.

15. Will[1] you then, O Maruts, grant unto us wealth, durable, rich in men, defying all onslaughts?[2]—wealth a hundred and a thousand-fold, always increasing?—May he who is rich in prayers[3] (the host of the Maruts) come early and soon!

---

like water.' He compares ῥυθμός, as derived from ῥέω. Another explanation might be, that the hymns are powerful like water, when it has been banked up. Yet all these similes seem very lame, and I feel convinced that we ought either to change the accent, and read ápa*h*, or the last vowel, and read apâ*h*. In the former case the meaning would be, 'As one wise in mind and clever performs his work, so do I compose these hymns.' In the second case, which seems to me preferable, we should translate: 'Like a workman, wise in mind and handy, I put together these hymns.'

Verse 2, note [1]. It is difficult to say in passages like this, whether Dyu should be taken as heaven or as a personified deity. When the Maruts are called Rudrásya máryâ*h*, the boys of Rudra (vii. 56, 1), the personification is always preserved. Hence if the same beings are called Divá*h* máryâ*h*, this too, I think, should be translated the boys of Dyu (iii. 54, 13; v. 59, 6), not the sons of heaven. The bulls of Dyu is a more primitive and more vigorous expression for what we should call the fertilising winds of heaven.

Verse 2, note [2]. Márya is a male, particularly a young male, a boy, a young man (i. 115, 2; iii. 33, 10; iv. 20, 5; v. 61, 4, with vîra):

v. 59, 5. máryâ*h*-iva su-vrídha*h* vavridhu*h* nára*h*.
Like boys that grow well they have grown men.

When joined with nára*h* (v. 53, 3), nára*h* máryâ*h* arepása*h*, it may be taken as an adjective, manly, strong. At last márya assumes the general meaning of man:

i. 91, 13. márya*h*-iva své okyē̃.

Like a man in his own house.

Verse 2, note [3]. The simile, like giants, is not quite clear. Sátvan means a strong man, but it seems intended here to convey the idea of supernatural strength. Benfey translates, 'like brave warriors;' Wilson, 'like evil spirits.' Ghorávarpas is an adjective belonging to the Maruts rather than to the giants, and may mean of awful aspect, i. 19, 5, or of cruel mind; cf. i. 39, 1, note [2].

Verse 3, note [1]. Abhog-ghána*h*, the slayers of the demon, are the slayers of the clouds, viz. of such clouds as do not yield rain. Abho*g*, not nurturing, is a name of the rainless cloud, like Námu*k*i (na-mu*k*, not delivering rain), the name of another demon killed by Indra; see Benfey, Glossar, s. v. The cloud which sends rain is called bhu*g*mán:

viii. 50, 2. .girí*h* ná bhu*g*mā̃ maghávat-su pinvate.

Like a feeding cloud he showers his gifts on the worshippers.

Verse 4, note [1]. The ornaments of the Maruts are best described v. 54, 11:

á*m*seshu va*h* *r*ish*t*áya*h* pat-sú khâdáya*h* váksha*h*-su rukmā̃*h*.

On your shoulders are the spears, on your feet rings, on your chests gold ornaments.

Rukmá as a masc. plur. is frequently used for ornaments which are worn on the breast by the Maruts, but no hint is given as to the exact nature of the ornaments. The Maruts are actually called rukmávakshasa*h*, gold-breasted, (ii. 34, 2; v. 55, 1; 57, 5.)

Verse 4, note [2]. Vápushe and *s*ubhé, as parallel expressions, occur also vi. 63, 6.

Verse 4, note [3]. Ní mim*r*ikshur does not occur again in the Rig-veda, and Roth has suggested to read ní mimikshur instead; see ni + mar*g*. He does not, however, give our

passage under mya*k*, but under mraksh, and this seems indeed preferable. No doubt, there is ample analogy for mimikshu*h*, and the meaning would be, their spears stick firm to their shoulders. But as the MSS. give mim*ri*kshu*h*, and as it is possible to find a meaning for this, I do not propose to alter the text. The question is only, what does mim*ri*kshu*h* mean? Mraksh means to grind, to rub, and Roth proposes to render our passage by 'the spears rub together on their shoulders.' The objections to this translation are the preposition ni, and the active voice of the verb. I take mraksh in the sense of grinding, pounding, destroying, which is likewise appropriate to mraksha-k*rí*tvan (viii. 61, 10), and tuvi-mrakshá (vi. 18, 2), and I translate, 'the spears on their shoulders pound to pieces.'

Verse 4, note [4]. The idea that the Maruts owe everything, if not their birth, at least their strength (svá-tavasa*h*, svá-bhânava*h*, sva-s*rí*ta*h*), to themselves is of frequent occurrence in these hymns.

Verse 5, note [1]. They are themselves compared to kings (i. 85, 8), and called î*s*âná, lords (i. 87, 4).

Verse 5, note [2]. Dhúni is connected with root dhvan, to dun or to din. Sâya*n*a explains it by bending or shaking, and Benfey, too, translates it by *Erschütterer*. Roth gives the right meaning.

Verse 6, note [1]. I translate sudā́nava*h* by bounteous, or good givers, for, if we have to choose between the two meanings of bounteous or endowed with liquid drops or dew, the former is the more appropriate in most passages. We might, of course, admit two words, one meaning, possessed of good water, the other, bounteous; the former derived from dā́nu, neuter, water, or rain, the other from dânú, giving. It cannot be denied, for instance, that whenever the Maruts are called sudā́nava*h*, the meaning, possessed of good rain, would be applicable: i. 40, 1; 44, 14; 64, 6; 85, 10; ii. 34, 8; iii. 26, 5; v. 52, 5; 53, 6; 57, 5; viii. 20, 18; x. 78, 5; i. 15, 2; 23, 9; 39, 10. Yet, even in these passages, while sudā́nava*h* in the sense of possessed

of good rain is possible throughout, that of good giver would sometimes be preferable, for instance, i. 15, 2, as compared with i. 15, 3.

When the same word is applied to Indra, vii. 31, 2; x. 23, 6; to Vishnu, viii. 25, 12; to the Asvins, i. 112, 11; to Mitra and Varuna, v. 62, 9; to Indra and Varuna, iv. 41, 8, the meaning of giver of good rain might still seem more natural. But with Agni, vi. 2, 4; the Âdityas, v. 67, 4; viii. 18, 12; 19, 34; 67, 16; the Vasus, i. 106, 1; x. 66, 12; the Visve, x. 65, 11, such an epithet would not be appropriate, while sudắnavah, in the sense of bounteous givers, is applicable to all. The objection that dânu, giver, does not occur in the Veda, is of no force, for many words occur at the end of compounds only, and we shall see passages where sudắnu must be translated by good giver. Nor would the accent of dânú, giver, be an obstacle, considering that the author of the Unâdi-sûtras had no Vedic authority to guide him in the determination of the accent of dânú. Several words in nu have the accent on the first syllable. But one might go even a step further, and find a more appropriate meaning for sudắnu by identifying it with the Zend hudânu, which means, not a good giver, but a good knower, wise. True, this root dâ, to know, does not occur in the ordinary Sanskrit, but as it exists both in Zend and in Greek (δάημι, δάεις), it may have left this one trace in the Vedic word sudắnu. This, however, is only a conjecture; what is certain is this, that apart from the passages where sudắnu is thus applied to various deities, in the sense of bounteous or wise, it also occurs as applied to the sacrificer, where it can only mean giver. This is clear from the following passages:

i. 47, 8. ísham priñkántâ su-kríte su-dắnave.

Bringing food to him who acts well and gives well.

vii. 96, 4. gani-yántah nú ágravah putri-yántah su-dắnavah, sárasvantam havâmahe.

We, being unmarried, and wishing for wives and wishing for sons, offering sacrifices, call now upon Sarasvat.

viii. 103, 7. su-dắnavah deva-yávah.

Offering sacrifices, and longing for the gods. Cf. x. 172, 2; 3; vi. 16, 8.

iv. 4, 7. sá*h* ít agne astu su-bhága*h* su-dắnu*h* yá*h* tvâ nítyena havíshâ yá*h* ukthaí*h* píprîshati.

O Agni, let the liberal sacrificer be happy, who wishes to please thee by perpetual offerings and hymns. See also vi. 16, 8; 68, 5; x. 172, 2, 3.

It must be confessed that even the meaning of dắnu is by no means quite clear. It is clear enough where it means demon, ii. 11, 18; 12, 11; iv. 30, 7; x. 120, 6, the seven demons. In i. 32, 9; iii. 30, 8, dắnu, demon, is applied to the mother of V*ri*tra. From this dắnu we have the derivative dânavá, meaning again demon. Why the demons, conquered by Indra, were called dắnu, is not clear. It may be in the sense of wise, or in the sense of powerful, for this meaning is ascribed to dânú by the author of the U*n*âdisûtras. If the latter meaning is authentic, and not only deduced *ex post* from the name of Dânu and Dânava, it might throw light on the Celtic dána, *fortis*, from which Zeuss derives the name of the Danube.

But the sense of the neuter dắnu is by no means settled. Sometimes it means Soma:

x. 43, 7. ắpa*h* ná síndhum abhí yát sam-áksharan sómâsa*h* índram kulyắ*h*-iva hradám, várdhanti víprâ*h* máha*h* asya sádane yávam ná v*ri*sh*t*í*h* divyéna dắnunâ.

When the Somas run together to Indra, like water to the river, like channels to the lake, then the priests increase his greatness in the sanctuary, as rain the corn, by the heavenly Soma-juice.

In the next verse *g*îrádânu means the sacrificer whose Soma is always alive, always ready.

In vi. 50, 13, however, dắnu pápri*h* is doubtful. As an epithet to Apắm nápât, it may mean he who wishes for Soma, or he who grants Soma; but in neither case is there any tangible sense. Again, viii. 25, 5, Mitra and Varu*n*a are called s*ri*prá-dânû, which may mean possessed of flowing rain. And in the next verse, sám yắ dắnûni yemáthu*h* may be rendered by Mitra and Varu*n*a, who brought together rain.

The fact that Mitra-Varu*n*au and the A*s*vins are called dắnunaspátî does not throw much more light on the subject, and the one passage where dắnu occurs as a feminine,

i. 54, 7, dânu*h* asmai úparâ pinvate divá*h*, may be translated by rain pours forth for him, below the sky, but the translation is by no means certain.

Dânu*k*itra, applied to the dawn, the water of the clouds, and the three worlds (v. 59, 8; 31, 6; i. 174, 7), means most likely bright with dew or rain; and dânumat vásu, the treasure conquered by Indra from the clouds, can be translated by the treasure of rain. Taking all the evidence together, we can hardly doubt that dânu existed in the sense of liquid, rain, or Soma; yet it is equally certain that dânu existed in the sense of giver, if not of gift, and that from this, in certain passages, at all events, sudânu must be derived, as a synonym of sudâvan, sudâman, &c.

Verse 6, note [2]. Cf. vii. 50, 4, (nadyâ*h*) páyasâ pínvamânâ*h*, the rivers swelling with milk. Pinvati is here construed with two accusatives, the conception being that they fill or feed the waters, and that the waters take the food, viz. the rain. The construction is not to be compared with the Greek *τρέφειν τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε* (Herod. ii. 2), but rather with *διδάσκειν τινά τι*.

Cf. vi. 63, 8. dhenúm na*h* ísham pinvatam ásakrâm.

You filled our cow (with) constant food.

Similarly duh, to milk, to extract, is construed with two accusatives: Pâ*n*. i. 4, 51. gâm dogdhi paya*h*, he milks the cow milk.

Rv. ix. 107, 5. duhâná*h* ûdha*h* divyám mádhu priyám.

Milking the heavenly udder (and extracting from it) the precious sweet, i. e. the rain.

Verse 6, note [3]. The leading about of the clouds is intended, like the leading about of horses, to tame them, and make them obedient to the wishes of their riders, the Maruts. *A*tya*h* vâ*g*î is a strong horse, possibly a stallion; but this horse is here meant to signify the cloud. Thus we read:

v. 83, 6. divá*h* na*h* v*r*isht*í*m maruta*h* rarîdhvam prá pinvata v*r*ísh*n*a*h* ásvasya dhârâ*h*.

Give us, O Maruts, the rain of heaven, pour forth the streams of the stallion (the cloud).

In the original the simile is quite clear, and no one required to be told that the átyah vâgî was meant for the cloud. Vâgín by itself means a horse, as i. 66, 2; 69, 3. vâgî ná prîtáh, like a favourite horse: i. 116, 6. paidváh vâgî, the horse of Pedu. But being derived from vâga, strength, vâgín retained always something of its etymological meaning, and was therefore easily and naturally transferred to the cloud, the giver of strength, the source of food. Even without the ná, i.e. as if, the simile would have been understood in Sanskrit, while in English it is hardly intelligible without a commentary. Benfey discovers some additional idea in support of the poet's comparison: 'Ich bin kein Pferdekenner,' he says, 'aber ich glaube bemerkt zu haben, dass man Pferde, welche rasch gelaufen sind, zum Uriniren zu bewegen sucht. So lassen hier die Maruts die durch ihren Sturm rasch fortgetriebenen Wolken Wasser herab strömen.'

Verse 6, note [4]. U'tsa, well, is meant again for cloud, though we should hardly be justified in classing it as a name of cloud, because the original meaning of útsa, spring, is really retained, as much as that of avatá, well, in i. 85, 10–11. The adjectives stanáyantam and ákshitam seem more applicable to cloud, yet they may be applied also to a spring. Yâska derives utsa from ut-sar, to go forth; ut-sad, to go out; ut-syand, to well out; or from ud, to wet. In v. 32, 2, the wells shut up by the seasons are identified with the udder of the cloud.

Verse 7, note [1]. Svátavas means really having their own independent strength, a strength not derived from the support of others. The yet which I have added in brackets seems to have been in the poet's mind, though it is not expressed. In i. 87, 4, the Maruts are called sva-srít, going by themselves, i.e. moving freely, independently, wherever they list. See i. 64, 4, note [4].

Verse 7, note [2]. Mrigâh hastínah, wild animals with a hand or a trunk, must be meant for elephants, although it has been doubted whether the poets of the Veda were

acquainted with that animal. Hastín is the received name for elephant in the later Sanskrit, and it is hardly applicable to any other animal. If they are said to eat the forests, this may be understood in the sense of crushing or chewing, as well as of eating.

Verse 7, note [3]. The chief difficulty of the last sentence has been pointed out in B. and R.'s Dictionary, s. v. ắru*n*î. Âru*n*î does not occur again in the whole of the Rig-veda. If we take it with Sâya*n*a as a various reading of aru*n*ī́, then the Aru*n*ī́s could only be the ruddy cows of the dawn or of Indra, with whom the Maruts, in this passage, can have no concern. Nor would it be intelligible why they should be called ắru*n*î in this one place only. If, as suggested by B. and R., the original text had been yadắ aru*n*ī́shu, it would be difficult to understand how so simple a reading could have been corrupted.

Another difficulty is the verb áyugdhvam, which is not found again in the Rig-veda together with távishî. Távishî, vigour, is construed with dhâ, to take strength, v. 32, 2. adhatthấ*h*; v. 55, 2. dadhidhve; x. 102, 8. adhatta; also with vas, iv. 16, 14; with pat, x. 113, 5, &c. But it is not likely that to put vigour into the cows could be expressed in Sanskrit by 'you gain vigour in the cows.' If távishî must be taken in the sense which it seems always to possess, viz. vigour, it would be least objectionable to translate, 'when you joined vigour, i. e. when you assumed vigour, while being among the Âru*n*îs.' The Âru*n*îs being the cows of the dawn, ắru*n*îshu might simply mean in the morning. Considering, however, that the Maruts are said to eat up forests, ắru*n*î, in this place, is best taken in the sense of red flames, viz. of fire or forest-fire (dâvâgni), so that the sense would be, 'When you, Storms, assume vigour among the flames, you eat up forests, like elephants.' Benfey: 'Wenn mit den rothen eure Kraft ihr angeschirrt. Die rothen sind die Antilopen, das Vehikel der Maruts, wegen der Schnelligkeit derselben.'

Verse 8, note [1]. As pi*s*á does not occur again in the Rig-veda, and as Sâya*n*a, without attempting any etymological

arguments, simply gives it as a name of deer, it seems best to adopt that sense till something better can be discovered. Supís, too, does not occur again. In vii. 18, 2, pís is explained by gold, &c.; vii. 57, 3, the Maruts are called visvapís.

Verse 8, note [2]. Kshápah can only be the accusative plural, used in a temporal sense. It is so used in the expression kshápah usráh ka, by night and by day, lit. nights and days (vii. 15, 8). In vi. 52, 15, we find kshápah usrấh in the same sense. iv. 53, 7. kshapấbhih áha-bhih, by night and by day. i. 44, 8, the loc. plur. vyúshtishu, in the mornings, is followed by kshápah, the acc. plur., by night, and here the genitive kshapáh would certainly be preferable, in the sense of at the brightening up of the night. The acc. plur. occurs again in i. 116, 4, where tisráh is used as an accusative (ii. 2, 2; viii. 41, 3). Kshapáh, with the accent on the last, must be taken as a *genitivus temporalis*, like the German *Nachts* (i. 79, 6). In viii. 19, 31, kshapáh vástushu means at the brightening up of the night, i. e. in the morning. Thus, in iii. 50, 4, Indra is called kshapấm vastấ ganitấ sû́ryasya, the lighter up of nights, the parent of the sun. In viii. 26, 3, áti kshapáh, the genitive may be governed by áti. In iv. 16, 19, however, the accusative kshápah would be more natural, nor do I see how a genitive could here be accounted for:

dyấvah ná dyumnaíh abhí sántah aryáh kshapáh madema sarádah ka pûrvî́h.

May we rejoice many years, overcoming our enemies as the days overcome the nights by splendour.

The same applies to i. 70, 4, where kshapáh occurs with the accent on the last syllable, whereas we expect kshápah as nom. or acc. plural. Here B. and R. in the Sanskrit Dictionary, s. v. kshap, rightly, I believe, suppose it to be a nom. plur. in spite of the accent.

Verse 9, note [1]. Ródasî, a dual, though frequently followed by ubhé (i. 10, 8; 33, 9; 54, 2), means heaven and earth, excluding the antáriksha or the air between the two. Hence, if this is to be included, it has to be added:

i. 73, 8. âpapri-vấn ródasî antáriksham. Cf. v. 85, 3. We must scan rodasî. See Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 193.

Verse 9, note [2]. The comparison is not quite distinct. Amáti means originally impetus, then power, e. g. v. 69, 1:

vavridhânấu amátim kshatríyasya.

Increasing the might of the warrior.

But it is most frequently used of the effulgence of the sun, (iii. 38, 8; v. 45, 2; 62, 5; vii. 38, 1; 2; 45, 3.) See also v. 56, 8, where the same companion of the Maruts is called Rodasî́. The comparative particle ná is used twice.

Verse 10, note [1]. See i. 38, 14, p. 78.

Verse 10, note [2]. In vrísha-khâdi the meaning of khâdi is by no means clear. Sâyana evidently guesses, and proposes two meanings, weapon or food. In several passages where khâdi occurs, it seems to be an ornament rather than a weapon, yet if derived from khad, to bite, it may originally have signified some kind of weapon. Roth translates it by ring, and it is certain that these khâdis were to be seen not only on the arms and shoulders, but likewise on the feet of the Maruts. There is a famous weapon in India, the kakra or quoit, a ring with sharp edges, which is thrown from a great distance with fatal effect. Bollensen (Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 46) suggests for vríshan the meaning of hole in the ear, and then translates the compound as having earrings in the hole of the ear. But vríshan does not mean the hole in the lap of the ear, nor has vrishabhá that meaning either in the Veda or elsewhere. Wilson gives for vrishabha, not for vrishan, the meaning of orifice of the ear, but this is very different from the hole in the lap of the ear. Benfey suggests that the khâdis were made of the teeth of wild animals, and hence their name of biters. Vríshan conveys the meaning of strong, though possibly with the implied idea of rain-producing, fertilising. See p. 121.

Verse 11, note [1]. Formerly explained as 'zum Kampfe wandelnd.' See Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. iv. p. 19.

Verse 11, note [2]. Wilson: 'Augmenters of rain, they

drive, with golden wheels, the clouds asunder; as elephants (in a herd, break down the trees in their way). They are honoured with sacrifices, visitants of the hall of offering, spontaneous assailers (of their foes), subverters of what are stable, immovable themselves, and wearers of shining weapons.'

Benfey: 'Weghemmnissen gleich schleudern die Fluthmehrer mit den goldnen Felgen das Gewölk empor, die nie müden Kämpfer, frei schreitend-festesstürzenden, die schweres thu'nden, lanzenstrahlenden Maruts.'

Verse 12, note [1]. Havásâ, instead of what one should expect, hávasâ, occurs but once more in another Marut hymn, vi. 66, 11.

Verse 12, note [2]. Vanín does not occur again as an epithet of the Maruts. It is explained by Sâyaṇa as a possessive adjective derived from vana, water, and Benfey accordingly translates it by *fluthversehn*. This, however, is not confirmed by any authoritative passages. Vanín, unless it means connected with the forest, a tree, in which sense it occurs frequently, is only applied to the worshippers or priests in the sense of venerating or adoring (cf. *venero*, *venustus*, &c.):

iii. 40, 7. abhí dyumnấni vanínaḥ índram sakante ákshitâ.

The inexhaustible treasures of the worshipper go towards Indra.

viii. 3, 5. índram vanínaḥ havâmahe.

We, the worshippers, call Indra.

Unless it can be proved by independent evidence that vanín means possessed of water, we must restrict vanín to its two meanings, of which the only one here applicable, though weak, is adoring. The Maruts are frequently represented as singers and priests, yet the epithets here applied to them stand much in need of some definite explanation, as the poet could hardly have meant to string a number of vague and ill-connected epithets together. If one might conjecture, svânínam instead of vanínam would be an improvement. It is a scarce word, and occurs but once more in the Veda, iii. 26, 5, where it is used of the Maruts, in the sense of noisy, turbulent.

Verse 12, note [3]. Sa*s*kata, which I have here translated literally by to cling, is often used in the sense of following or revering (*colere*):

ii. 1, 13. tvā̃m râti-sā̃*k*a*h* adhvaréshu sa*s**k*ire.

The gods who are fond of offerings cling to thee, follow thee, at the sacrifices.

The Soma libation is said to reach the god:

ii. 22, 1. sá*h* enam sa*s**k*at devá*h* devám. The gods too are said to cling to their worshippers, i. e. to love and protect them: iii. 16, 2; vii. 18, 25. The horses are said to follow their drivers: vi. 36, 3; vii. 90, 3, &c. It is used very much like the Greek ὀπάζω.

Verse 12, note [4]. Ra*g*astū́*h* may mean rousing the dust of the earth, a very appropriate epithet of the Maruts. Sâya*n*a explains it thus, and most translators have adopted his explanation. But as the epithets here are not simply descriptive, but laudatory, it seems preferable, in this place, to retain the usual meaning of rá*g*as, sky. When Soma is called ra*g*astū́*h*, ix. 108, 7, Sâya*n*a too explains it by te*g*asâm prerakam, and ix. 48, 4, by udakasya prerakam.

Verse 12, note [5]. *Ri**g*îshín, derived from *ri**g*îsha. *Ri**g*îsha is what remains of the Soma-plant after it has once been squeezed, and what is used again for the third libation. Now as the Maruts are invoked at the third libation, they were called *ri**g*îshín, as drinking at their later libation the juice made of the *ri**g*îsha. This, at least, is the opinion of the Indian commentators. But it is much more likely that the Maruts were invoked at the third libation, because originally they had been called *ri**g*îshín by the Vedic poets, this *ri**g*îshín being derived from *ri**g*îsha, and *ri**g*îsha from *rig*, to strive, to yearn, like purîsha from p*r*î, manîshâ from man; (see U*n*âdi-sûtras, p. 273.) This *rig* is the same root which we have in ὀρέγειν, to reach, ὀργή, emotion, and ὄργια, furious transports of worshippers. Thus the Maruts from being called *ri**g*îshín, impetuous, came to be taken for drinkers of *ri**g*îsha, the fermenting and overflowing Soma, and were assigned accordingly to the third libation at sacrifices. *Ri**g*îshín, as an epithet, is not confined to the Maruts; it

is given to Indra, with whom it could not have had a purely ceremonial meaning (viii. 76, 5).

Verse 13, note [1]. Âpríkkhya, literally to be asked for, to be inquired for, to be greeted and honoured. A word of an apparently modern character, but occurring again in the Rig-veda as applied to a prince, and to the vessel containing the Soma.

Verse 13, note [2]. Púshyati might be joined with krátu and taken in a transitive sense, he increases his strength. But púshyati is also used as an intransitive, and means he prospers:

i. 83, 3. ásam-yatah vraté te ksheti púshyati.
Without let he dwells in thy service and prospers.
Roth reads asamyattah, against the authority of the MSS.

Verse 14, note [1]. The difficulty of this verse arises from the uncertainty whether the epithets dhanasprítam, ukthyâm, and visvákarshanim belong to súshma, strength, or to toká, kith and kin. Roth and Benfey connect them with toká. Now dhanasprít is applicable to toká, yet it never occurs joined with toká again, while it is used with súshma, vi. 19, 8. Ukthyâ, literally to be praised with hymns, is not used again as an epithet of toká, though it is quite appropriate to any gift of the gods. Lastly, visvákarshani is never applied to toká, while it is an epithet used, if not exactly of the strength, súshma, given by the gods, yet of the fame given by them:

x. 93, 10. dhâtam vîréshu visvá-karshani srávah.
Give to these men world-wide glory. Cf. iii. 2, 15.

The next difficulty is the exact meaning of visvá-karshani, and such cognate words as visvá-krishti, visvá-manusha. The only intelligible meaning I can suggest for these words is, known to all men; originally, belonging to, reaching to all men; as we say, world-wide or European fame, meaning by it fame extending over the whole of Europe, or over the whole world. If Indra, Agni, and the Maruts are called by these names, they mean, as far as I can judge, known, worshipped by all men. Benfey translates *allverständig*.

Verse 15, note [1]. *R*iti, the first element of *r*iti-sáham, never occurs by itself in the Rig-veda. It comes from the root ar, to hurt, which was mentioned before (p. 54) in connection with ár-van, hurting, árus, wound, and ári, enemy. Sám-*r*iti occurs i. 32, 6. *R*iti therefore means hurting, and *r*iti-sáh means one who can stand an attack. In our passage rayím vîrá-vantam *r*iti-sáham means really wealth consisting in men who are able to withstand all onslaughts.

The word is used in a similar sense, vi. 14, 4:

agní*h* apsấm *r*iti-sáham vîrám dadâti sát-patim, yásya trásanti *s*ávasa*h* sam-*k*ákshi *s*átrava*h* bhiyấ.

Agni gives a strong son who is able to withstand all onslaughts, from fear of whose strength the enemies tremble when they see him.

In other passages *r*iti-sáh is applied to Indra:

viii. 45, 35. bibháya hí tvấ-vata*h* ugrất abhi-prabhangína*h* dasmất ahám *r*iti-sáha*h*.

For I stand in fear of a powerful man like thee, of one who crushes his enemies, who is strong and withstands all onslaughts.

viii. 68, 1. tuvi-kûrmím *r*iti-sáham índra *s*ávish*th*a sát-pate.

Thee, O most powerful Indra, of mighty strength, able to withstand all onslaughts.

viii. 88, 1. tám va*h* dasmám *r*iti-sáham—índram gî*h*-bhí*h* navâmahe.

We call Indra the strong, the resisting, with our songs.

Verse 15, note [2]. The last sentence finishes six of the hymns ascribed to Nodhas. It is more appropriate in a hymn addressed to single deities, such as Agni or Indra, than in a hymn to the Maruts. We must supply *s*ardha, in order to get a collective word in the masculine singular.

Nú, as usual, should be scanned nu.

Verse 15, note [3]. Dhiyấ-vasu, as an epithet of the gods, means rich in prayers, i. e. invoked by many worshippers. It does not occur frequently. Besides the hymns of Nodhas, it only occurs independently in i. 3, 10 (Sarasvatî), iii. 3, 2, iii. 28, 1 (Agni), these hymns being all ascribed to the

family of Visvâmitra. In the last verse, which forms the burden of the hymns of Nodhas, it may have been intended to mean, he who is rich through the hymn just recited, he who rejoices in the hymn, the god to whom it is addressed.

Nodhas, the poet, belongs, according to the Anukramanî, to the family of Gotama, and in the hymns which are ascribed to him, i. 58–64, the Gotamas are mentioned several times:

i. 60, 5. tám tvâ vayám pátim agne rayînấm prá samsâmah matí-bhih gótamâsah.

We, the Gotamas, praise thee with hymns, Agni, the lord of treasures.

i. 61, 16. evá te hari-yogana su-vriktí índra bráhmâni gótamâsah akran.

Truly the Gotamas made holy prayers for thee, O Indra with brilliant horses! See also i. 63, 9.

In one passage Nodhas himself is called Gotama:

i. 62, 13. sanâ-yaté gótamah indra návyam
átakshat bráhma hari-yóganâya,
su-nîthấya nah savasâna nodhấh—
prâtáh makshú dhiyấ-vasuh gagamyât.

Gotama made a new song for the old (god) with brilliant horses, O Indra! May Nodhas be a good leader to us, O powerful Indra! May he who is rich in prayers (Indra) come early and soon!

I feel justified therefore in following the Anukramanî and taking Nodhas as a proper name. It occurs so again in

i. 61, 14. sadyáh bhuvat vîryấya nodhấh.

May Nodhas quickly attain to power!

In i. 124, 4, nodhấh-iva may mean like Nodhas, but more likely it may have the more general meaning of poet.

MA*ND*ALA I, SÛKTA 85.
ASH*T*AKA I, ADHYÂYA 6, VARGA 9–10.

1. Prá yé *s*úmbhante *g*ánaya*h* ná sáptaya*h* yấman rudrásya sûnáva*h* su-dá*m*sasa*h*, ródasî (íti) hí marúta*h* *k*akriré v*r*idhé mádanti vîrấ*h* vidátheshu gh*r*íshvaya*h*.

2. Té ukshitấsa*h* mahimấnam â*s*ata diví rudrấsa*h* ádhi *k*akrire sáda*h*, ár*k*anta*h* arkám *g*anáyanta*h* indriyám ádhi *s*ríya*h* dadhire p*r*í*s*ni-mâtara*h*.

3. Gó-mâtara*h* yát *s*ubháyante añ*g*í-bhi*h* tanűshu *s*ubhrấ*h* dadhire virúkmata*h*, vấdhante ví*s*vam abhimâtínam ápa vártmâni eshâm ánu rîyate gh*r*itám.

4. Ví yé bhrấ*g*ante sú-makhâsa*h* *r*isht*í*-bhi*h* pra*k*yaváyanta*h* á*k*yutâ *k*it ó*g*asâ, mana*h*-*g*úva*h* yát maruta*h* rátheshu ấ v*r*ísha-vrâtâsa*h* p*r*íshatî*h* áyugdhvam.

5. Prá yát rátheshu p*r*íshatî*h* áyugdhvam vấ*g*e ádrim maruta*h* ra*m*háyanta*h* utá arushásya ví syanti dhấrâ*h* *k*árma-iva udá-bhi*h* ví undanti bhűma.

6. Ấ va*h* vahantu sáptaya*h* raghu-syáda*h* raghupátvâna*h* prá *g*igâta bâhú-bhi*h*, sídata ấ barhí*h* urú va*h* sáda*h* k*r*itám mâdáyadhvam maruta*h* mádhva*h* ándhasa*h*.

7. Té avardhanta svá-tavasa*h* mahi-tvanấ ấ nấkam

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Those who glance forth like wives and yoke-fellows,[1] they are the powerful sons of Rudra on their way. The Maruts have made heaven and earth to grow,[2] they, the strong and wild, delight in the sacrifices.

2. When grown up,[1] they attained to greatness; the Rudras have established their abode in the sky. While singing their song and increasing their vigour, the sons of Prisni have clothed themselves in beauty.[2]

3. When these sons of the cow (Prisni)[1] adorn themselves with glittering ornaments, the brilliant[2] ones put bright weapons on their bodies.[3] They hurl away every adversary;[4] fatness (rain) runs along their paths;—

4. When you,[1] the powerful, who glitter with your spears, shaking even what is unshakable by strength; when you, O Maruts, the manly hosts,[2] had yoked the spotted deer, swift as thought, to your chariots;—

5. When you had yoked the spotted deer before your chariots, stirring[1] the cloud to the battle, then the streams of the red enemy[2] rush forth: like a skin[3] with water they water the earth.

6. May the swift-gliding, swift-winged horses carry you hither! Come forth with your arms![1] Sit down on the grass-pile; a wide place has been made for you. Rejoice, O Maruts, in the sweet food.[2]

7. They who have their own strength, grew[1] with

tasthú*h* urú *k*akrire sáda*h*, víshn*u*h yất ha ấvat vríshanam mada-*k*yútam váya*h* ná sîdan ádhi barhíshi priyé.

8. *S*ûrâ*h*-iva ít yúyudhaya*h* ná *g*ágmaya*h* sravasyáva*h* ná prítanâsu yetire, bháyante vísvâ bhúvanâ marút-bhya*h* rấ*g*âna*h*-iva tveshá-sandrisa*h* nára*h*.

9. Tváshtâ yát vá*g*ram sú-k*r*itam hira*n*yáyam sahásra-bh*r*ishtim su-ápâ*h* ávartayat, dhatté índra*h* nári ápâ*m*si kártave áhan v*r*itrám ní*h* apấm aub*g*at ar*n*avám.

10. Ûrdhvám nunudre avatám té ó*g*asâ dad*r*ihâ*n*ám *k*it bibhidu*h* ví párvatam, dhámanta*h* vâ*n*ám marúta*h* su-dấnava*h* máde sómasya rá*n*yâni *k*akrire.

11. *G*ihmám nunudre avatám táyâ disấ ásiñ*k*an útsam gótamâya trish*n*á-*g*e, ấ ga*kkh*anti îm ávasâ *k*itrá-bhânava*h* kấmam víprasya tarpayanta dhấmabhi*h*.

12. Yấ va*h* sárma sasamânấya sánti tri-dhấtûni dâsúshe ya*kkh*ata ádhi, asmábhyam tấni maruta*h* ví yanta rayím na*h* dhatta v*r*isha*n*a*h* su-vîram.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. The metre is *G*agatî, except in verses 5 and 12, which are Trish*t*ubh.

Verse 1, note [1]. The phrase *g*ánaya*h* ná sáptaya*h* is obscure. As *g*áni has always the meaning of wife, and sápti in the singular, dual, and plural means horse, it might

might; they stepped to the firmament, they made their place wide. When Vishnu[3] descried the enrapturing Soma, the Maruts sat down like birds on their beloved altar.

8. Like heroes indeed thirsting for fight they rush about; like combatants eager for glory they have struggled in battles. All beings are afraid of the Maruts; they are men awful to behold, like kings.

9. When the clever Tvashtar[1] had turned the well-made, golden, thousand-edged thunderbolt, Indra took it to perform his manly deeds;[2] he slew Vritra, he forced out the stream of water.

10. By their power they pushed the well[1] aloft, they clove asunder the cloud, however strong. Sending forth their voice[2] the beneficent Maruts performed, while drunk of Soma, their glorious deeds.

11. They drove the cloud athwart this way, they poured out the well to the thirsty Gotama. The bright-shining Maruts approach him with help, they with their clans fulfilled the desire of the sage.

12. The shelters which you have for him who praises you, grant them threefold to the man who gives! Extend the same to us, O Maruts! Give us, ye heroes,[1] wealth with excellent offspring!

---

be supposed that *g*ánaya*h* could be connected with sáptaya*h*, so as to signify mares. But although *g*áni is coupled with patnî, i. 62, 10, in the sense of mother-wife, and though sápti is most commonly joined with some other name for horse, yet *g*ánaya*h* sáptaya*h* never occurs, for the simple reason that it would be too elaborate and almost absurd an expression for va*d*avâ*h*. We find sápti joined with vâ*g*ín,

i. 162, 1; with-ráthya, ii. 31, 7; átyam ná sáptim, iii. 22, 1; sáptî hárî, iii. 35, 2; ásvâ sáptî-iva, vi. 59, 3.

We might then suppose the thought of the poet to have been this: What appears before us like race-horses, viz. the storms coursing through the sky, that is really the host of the Maruts. But then *g*ánaya*h* remains unexplained, and it is impossible to take *g*ánaya*h* ná sáptaya*h* as two similes, like unto horses, like unto wives.

I believe, therefore, that we must here take sápti in its original etymological sense, which would be *ju-mentum*, a yoked animal, a beast of draught, or rather a follower, a horse that will follow. Sápti, therefore, could never be a wild horse, but always a tamed horse, a horse that will go in harness. Cf. ix. 21, 4. hitấ*h* ná sáptaya*h* ráthe, like horses put to the chariot; or in the singular, ix. 70, 10. hitá*h* ná sápti*h*, like a harnessed horse. The root is sap, which in the Veda means to follow, to attend on, to worship. But if sápti means originally animals that will go together, it may in our passage have retained the sense of yoke-fellow (σύζυγος), and be intended as an adjective to *g*ánaya*h*, wives. There is at least one other passage where this meaning would seem to be more appropriate, viz.

viii. 20, 23. yûyám sakhâya*h* saptaya*h*.

You (Maruts), friends and followers! or you, friends and comrades!

Here it is hardly possible to assign to sápti the sense of horse, for the Maruts, though likened to horses, are never thus barely invoked as saptaya*h*!

If then we translate, 'Those who glance forth like wives and yoke-fellows,' i.e. like wives of the same husband, the question still recurs how the simile holds good, and how the Maruts rushing forth together in all their beauty can be compared to wives. In answer to this we have to bear in mind that the idea of many wives belonging to one husband (sapatnî) is familiar to the Vedic poet, and that their impetuously rushing into the arms of their husbands, and appearing before them in all their beauty, are frequent images in their poetry. Whether in the phrase pátim ná *g*ánaya*h* or *g*ánaya*h* ná gárbham, the *g*anis, the wives or

mothers, are represented as running together after their husbands or children. This impetuous approach the poet may have wished to allude to in our passage also, but though it might have been understood at once by his hearers, it is almost impossible to convey this implied idea in any other language.

Wilson translates: 'The Maruts, who are going forth, decorate themselves like females: they are gliders (through the air), the sons of Rudra, and the doers of good works, by which they promote the welfare of earth and heaven. Heroes, who grind (the solid rocks), they delight in sacrifices.'

Verse 1, note [2]. The meaning of this phrase, which occurs very frequently, was originally that the storms by driving away the dark clouds, made the earth and the sky to appear larger and wider. It afterwards takes a more general sense of increasing, strengthening, blessing.

Verse 2, note [1]. Ukshitá is here a participle of vaksh or uksh, to grow, to wax; not from uksh, to sprinkle, to anoint, to inaugurate, as explained by Sâya*n*a. Thus it is said of the Maruts, v. 55, 3. sâkám *g*âtā́*h*—sâkám ukshitā́*h*, born together, and grown up together.

Verse 2, note [2]. The same expression occurs viii. 28, 5. saptó (íti) ádhi *s*ríya*h* dhire. See also i. 116, 17; ix. 68, 1.

Verse 3, note [1]. Gó-mât*ri*, like gó-*g*âta, a name of the Maruts.

Verse 3, note [2]. *S*ubhrá applied to the Maruts, i. 19, 5.

Verse 3, note [3]. Virúkmata*h* must be an accusative plural. It occurs i. 127, 3, as an epithet of ó*g*as; vi. 49, 5, as an epithet of the chariot of the A*s*vins. In our place, however, it must be taken as a substantive, signifying something which the Maruts wear, probably armour or weapons. This follows chiefly from x. 138, 4. *s*átrûn a*s*ri*n*ât virúkmatâ, Indra tore his enemies with the bright weapon.

In viii. 20, 11, where rukmá occurs as a masculine plural, ví bhrâ*g*ante rukmā́sa*h* ádhi bâhúshu, their bright things shine on their arms, it seems likewise to be meant for weapons; according to Sâya*n*a, for chains. In v. 55, 3; x. 78, 3, the Maruts are called vi-rokína*h*, bright like the rays of the sun or the tongues of fire.

Verse 3, note [4]. Observe the short syllable in the tenth syllable of this Pâda.

Verse 4, note [1]. The sudden transition from the third to the second person is not unusual in the Vedic hymns, the fact being that where we in a relative sentence should use the same person as that of the principal verb, the Vedic poets frequently use the third.

Verse 4, note [2]. V*ri*sha-vrâta is untranslatable for reasons stated p. 121 seq.; it means consisting of companies of v*ri*-shan's in whatever sense that word be taken. Wilson in his translation mistakes á*k*yutâ for á*k*yutâ*h*, and vrâta for vrata. He translates the former by 'incapable of being overthrown,' the latter by 'entrusted with the duty of sending rain,' both against the authority of Sâya*n*a. V*ri*sha-vrăta occurs twice in the Rig-veda as an epithet of Soma only, ix. 62, 11; 64, 1.

Verse 5, note [1]. Ra*m*h, to stir up, to urge, to make go:
v. 32, 2. tvám útsân *ri*tú-bhi*h* badbadhânā́n ára*m*ha*h*.
Thou madest the springs to run that had been shut up by the seasons.
viii. 19, 6. tásya ít árvanta*h* ra*m*hayante â*s*áva*h*.
His horses only run quick.
*A*dri, which I here preferred to translate by cloud, means originally stone, and it is used in adriva*h*, wielder of the thunderbolt, a common vocative addressed to Indra, in the sense of a stone-weapon, or the thunderbolt. If we could ascribe to it the same meaning here, we might translate, 'hurling the stone in battle.' This is the meaning adopted by Benfey.

Verse 5, note [2]. The red enemy is the dark red cloud, but arushá has almost become a proper name, and its

original meaning of redness is forgotten. Nay, it is possible that arushá, as applied to the same power of darkness which is best known by the names of Vritra, Dasyu, etc., may never have had the sense of redness, but been formed straight from ar, to hurt, from which arvan, arus, etc., (see p. 54.) It would then mean simply the hurter, the enemy, (see p. 17.)

Verse 5, note [3]. Sâyana explains: 'They moisten the whole earth like a hide,' a hide representing a small surface which is watered without great effort. Wilson: 'They moisten the earth, like a hide, with water.' Langlois: 'Alors les gouttes d'eau, perçant comme la peau de ce (nuage) bienfaisant viennent inonder la terre.' Benfey: 'Dann stürzen reichlich aus der rothen (Gewitterwolke) Tropfen, mit Fluth wie eine Haut die Erde netzend. (Dass die Erde so durchnässt wird, wie durchregnetes Leder.)' If the poet had intended to compare the earth, before it is moistened by rain, to a hide, he might have had in his mind the dryness of a tanned skin, or, as Professor Benfey says, of leather. If, on the contrary, the simile refers to the streams of water, then *k*árma-iva, like a skin, might either be taken in the technical acceptation of the skin through which, at the preparation of the Soma, the streams (dhârâ*h*) of that beverage are squeezed and distilled, or we may take the word in the more general sense of water-skin. In that case the comparison, though not very pointedly expressed, as it would have been by later Sanskrit poets, would still be complete. The streams of the red enemy, i. e. of the cloud, rush forth, and they, whether the streams liberated by the Maruts, or the Maruts themselves, moisten the earth with water, like a skin, i. e. like a skin in which water is kept and from which it is poured out. The cloud itself being called a skin by Vedic poets (i. 129, 3) makes the comparison still more natural.

One other explanation might suggest itself, if the singular of *k*árma should be considered objectionable on account of the plural of the verb. Vedic poets speak of the skin of the earth. Thus:

x. 68, 4. bhū́myâ*h* udnā́-iva ví tvá*k*am bibheda.

He (Brihaspati) having driven the cows from the cave, cut the skin of the earth, as it were, with water, i. e. saturated it with rain.

The construction, however, if we took *k*árma in the sense of surface, would be very irregular, and we should have to translate: They moisten the earth with water like a skin, i. e. skin-deep.

We ought to scan *k*ārmēvōdăbhī*h* vĭ ūndāntĭ bhûmā, for *k*ārmēvă ŭdăbhī*h* vyūndāntĭ bhûmā would give an unusual cæsura.

Verse 6, note [1]. With your arms, i. e. according to Sâya*n*a, with armfuls of gifts. Though this expression does not occur again so baldly, we read i. 166, 10, of the Maruts, that there are many gifts in their strong arms, bhū́rî*n*i bhadrā́ náryeshu bâhúshu; nor does bâhú, as used in the plural, as far as I am able to judge, ever convey any meaning but that of arms. The idea that the Maruts are carried along by their arms as by wings, does not rest on Vedic authority, otherwise we might join raghupátvâna*h* with bâhúbhi*h*, come forth swiftly flying on your arms! As it is, and with the accent on the antepenultimate, we must refer raghupátvâna*h* to sáptaya*h*, horses.

Verse 6, note [2]. The sweet food is Soma.

Verse 7, note [1]. The initial 'a' of avardhanta must be elided, or 'té a' be pronounced as two short syllables equal to one long.

Verse 7, note [2]. Vish*n*u, whose character in the hymns of the Veda is very different from that assumed by him in later periods of Hindu religion, must here be taken as the friend and companion of Indra. Like the Maruts, he assisted Indra in his battle against Vritra and the conquest of the clouds. When Indra was forsaken by all the gods, Vish*n*u came to his help.

iv. 18, 11. utá mâtā́ mahishám ánu avenat amī́ (íti) tvâ *g*ahati putra devā́*h*,

átha abravît vritrám índra*h* hanishyán sákhe vish*n*o (íti) vi-tarám ví kramasva.

The mother also called after the bull, these gods forsake thee, O son; then, when going to kill Vritra, Indra said, Friend, Vishnu, step forward!

This stepping of Vishnu is emblematic of the rising, the culminating, and setting of the sun; and in viii. 12, 27, Vishnu is said to perform it through the power of Indra. In vi. 20, 2, Indra is said to have killed Vritra, assisted by Vishnu (víshnunâ sakânáh). Vishnu is therefore invoked together with Indra, vi. 69, 8; vii. 99; with the Maruts, v. 87; vii. 36, 9. In vii. 93, 8, Indra, Vishnu, and the Maruts are called upon together. Nay, mấruta, belonging to the Maruts, becomes actually an epithet of Vishnu, v. 46, 2. mấruta utá vishno (íti); and in i. 156, 4, mấrutasya vedhásah has been pointed out by Roth as an appellation of Vishnu. The mention of Vishnu in our hymn is therefore by no means exceptional, but the whole purport of this verse is nevertheless very doubtful, chiefly owing to the fact that several of the words occurring in it lend themselves to different interpretations.

The translations of Wilson, Benfey, and others have not rendered the sense which the poet intends to describe at all clear. Wilson says: 'May they for whom Vishnu defends (the sacrifice), that bestows all desires and confers delight, come (quickly) like birds, and sit down upon the pleasant and sacred grass.' Benfey: 'Wenn Vishnu schützt den rauschtriefenden tropfenden (Soma), sitzen wie Vögel sie auf der geliebten Streu.' Langlois: 'Quand Vichnou vient prendre sa part de nos enivrantes libations, eux, comme des oiseaux, arrivent aussi sur le *cousa* qui leur est cher.'

Whence all these varieties? First, because ấvat may mean, he defended or protected, but likewise he descried, became aware. Secondly, because vríshan is one of the most vague and hence most difficult words in the Veda, and may mean Indra, Soma, or the cloud: (see the note on Vríshan, p. 121.) Thirdly, because the adjective belonging to vríshan, which generally helps us to determine which vríshan is meant, is here itself of doubtful import, and certainly applicable to Indra as well as to Soma and the Asvins, possibly even to the cloud. Mada-kyút is readily

explained by the commentators as bringing down pride, a meaning which the word might well have in modern Sanskrit, but which it clearly has not in the Veda. Even where the thunderbolt of Indra is called mada*k*yút, and where the meaning of 'bringing down pride' would seem most appropriate, we ought to translate 'wildly rushing down.'

viii. 96, 5. ấ yát vá*g*ram bâhvó*h* indra dhátse mada-*k*yútam áhaye hántavaí û*m* (íti).

When thou tookest the wildly rushing thunderbolt in thy arms in order to slay Ahi.

When applied to the gods, the meaning of mada*k*yút is by no means certain. It might mean rushing about fiercely, reeling with delight, this delight being produced by the Soma, but it may also mean sending down delight, i. e. rain or Soma. The root *k*yu is particularly applicable to the sending down of rain; cf. Taitt. Sanh. ii. 4, 9, 2; 10, 3; iii. 3, 4, 1; and Indra and his horses, to whom this epithet is chiefly applied, are frequently asked to send down rain. However, mada*k*yút is also applied to real horses (i. 126, 4) where givers of rain would be an inappropriate epithet. I should therefore translate mada*k*yút, when applied to Indra, to his horses, to the A*s*vins, or to horses in general by furiously or wildly moving about, as if 'made *k*yavate,' he moves in a state of delight, or in a state of intoxication such as was not incompatible with the character of the ancient gods. Here again the difficulty of rendering Vedic thought in English, or any other modern language, becomes apparent, for we have no poetical word to express a high state of mental excitement produced by drinking the intoxicating juice of the Soma or other plants, which has not something opprobrious mixed up with it, while in ancient times that state of excitement was celebrated as a blessing of the gods, as not unworthy of the gods themselves, nay, as a state in which both the warrior and the poet would perform their highest achievements. The German *Rausch* is the nearest approach to the Sanskrit mada.

viii. 1, 21. ví*s*veshâm tarutấram mada-*k*yútam máde hí sma dádâti na*h*.

Indra, the conqueror of all, who rushes about in

rapture, for in rapture he bestows gifts upon us. Cf. i. 51, 2.

The horses of Indra are called mada*k*yút, i. 81, 3; viii. 33, 18; 34, 9. Ordinary horses, i. 126, 4.

It is more surprising to see this epithet applied to the A*s*vins, who are generally represented as moving about with exemplary steadiness. However we read:

viii. 22, 16. mána*h*-*g*avasâ v*r*isha*n*â mada-*k*yutâ.

Ye two A*s*vins, quick as thought, powerful, wildly moving; or, as Sâya*n*a proposes, liberal givers, humblers of your enemies. See also viii. 35, 19.

Most frequently mada*k*yút is applied to Soma, x. 30, 9; ix. 32, 1; 53, 4; 79, 2; 108, 11; where particularly the last passage deserves attention, in which Soma is called mada-*k*yútam sahásra-dhâram v*r*ishabhám.

Lastly, even the wealth itself which the Maruts are asked to send down from heaven, most likely rain, is called, viii. 7, 13, rayím̐ mada-*k*yútam puru-kshúm vi*s*vá-dhâyasam.

In all these passages we must translate mada-*k*yút by bringing delight, showering down delight.

We have thus arrived at the conclusion that v*r*ísha*n*am mada-*k*yútam, as used in our passage i. 85, 7, might be meant either for Indra or for Soma. If the A*s*vins can be called v*r*ísha*n*aù mada-*k*yútâ, the same expression would be even more applicable to Indra. On the other hand, if Soma is called v*r*ishabhá*h* mada-*k*yút, the same Soma may legitimately be called v*r*íshâ mada-*k*yút. In deciding whether Indra or Soma be meant, we must now have recourse to other hymns, in which the relations of the Maruts with Vish*n*u, Soma, and Indra are alluded to.

If Indra were intended, and if the first words meant 'When Vish*n*u perceived the approach of Indra,' we should expect, not that the Maruts sat down on the sacrificial pile, but that they rushed to the battle. The idea that the Maruts come to the sacrifice, like birds, is common enough:

viii. 20, 10. v*r*isha*n*a*s*véna maruta*h* v*r*ísha-psunâ ráthena v*r*ísha-nâbhinâ, ấ *s*yenấsa*h* ná pakshí*n*a*h* v*r*íthâ nara*h* havyấ na*h* vîtáye gata.

Come ye Maruts together, to eat our offerings, on your

strong-horsed, strong-shaped, strong-naved chariot, like winged hawks!

But when the Maruts thus come to a sacrifice it is to participate in it, and particularly in the Soma that is offered by the sacrificer. This Soma, it is said in other hymns, was prepared by Vishnu for Indra (ii. 22, 1), and Vishnu is said to have brought the Soma for Indra (x. 113, 2). If we keep these and similar passages in mind, and consider that in the preceding verse the Maruts have been invited to sit down on the sacrificial pile and to rejoice in the sweet food, we shall see that the same train of thought is carried on in our verse, the only new idea being that the keeping or descrying of the Soma is ascribed to Vishnu.

Verse 9, note [1]. Tváshtar, the workman of the gods, frequently also the fashioner and creator.

Verse 9, note [2]. Nári, the loc. sing. of nri, but, if so, with a wrong accent, occurs only in this phrase as used here, and as repeated in viii. 96, 19. nári ápâmsi kártâ sáh vritra-hắ. Its meaning is not clear. It can hardly mean 'on man,' without some more definite application. If nri could be used as a name of Vritra or any other enemy, it would mean, to do his deeds against the man, on the enemy. Nri, however, is ordinarily an honorific term, chiefly applied to Indra, iv. 25, 4. náre náryâya nrí-tamâya nrinắm, and hence its application to Vritra would be objectionable. Sâyana explains it in the sense of battle. I believe that nári stands for náryâ, the acc. plur. neut. of nárya, manly, and the frequent epithet of ápas, and I have translated accordingly. Indra is called nárya-apas, viii. 93, 1.

Verse 10, note [1]. Avatá, a well, here meant for cloud, like útsa, i. 64, 6.

Verse 10, note [2]. Dhámantah vânám is translated by Sâyana as playing on the lyre, by Benfey as blowing the flute. Such a rendering, particularly the latter, would be very appropriate, but there is no authority for vâná meaning either lyre or flute in the Veda. Vâná occurs

five times only. In one passage, viii. 20, 8, góbhi*h* vâ*n*á*h* a*g*yate, it means arrow; the arrow is sent forth from the bow-strings. The same meaning seems applicable to ix. 50, 1. vâ*n*ásya *k*odaya pavím. In another passage, ix. 97, 8, prá vadanti vâ*n*ám, they send forth their voice, is applied to the Maruts, as in our passage; in iv. 24, 9, the sense is doubtful, but here too vâ*n*á clearly does not mean a musical instrument. See iii. 30, 10.

Vríshan.

Verse 12, note [1]. In vríshan we have one of those words which it is almost impossible to translate accurately. It occurs over and over again in the Vedic hymns, and if we once know the various ideas which it either expresses or implies, we have little difficulty in understanding its import in a vague and general way, though we look in vain for corresponding terms in any modern language. In the Veda, and in ancient languages generally, one and the same word is frequently made to do service for many. Words retain their general meaning, though at the same time they are evidently used with a definite purpose. This is not only a peculiar phase of language, but a peculiar phase of thought, and as to us this phase has become strange and unreal, it is very difficult to transport ourselves back into it, still more to translate the pregnant terms of the Vedic poets into the definite languages which we have to use. Let us imagine a state of thought and speech in which *virtus* still meant manliness, though it might also be applied to the virtue of a woman; or let us try to speak and think a language which expressed the bright and the divine, the brilliant and the beautiful, the straight and the right, the bull and the hero, the shepherd and the king by the same terms, and we shall see how difficult it would be to translate such terms without losing either the key-note that was still sounding, or the harmonics which were set vibrating by it in the minds of the poets and their listeners.

Vríshan, being derived from a root vrish, *spargere*, meant no doubt originally the male, whether applied to animals or men. In this sense vríshan occurs frequently

in the Veda, either as determining the sex of the animal which is mentioned, or as standing by itself and meaning the male. In either case, however, it implies the idea of strength and eminence, which we lose whether we translate it by man or male.

Thus ásva is horse, but vii. 69, 1, we read:

ā̂ vâm ráthah—vrísha-bhih yâtu ásvaih.

May your chariot come near with powerful horses, i.e. with stallions.

The Háris, the horses of Indra, are frequently called vríshanâ:

i. 177, 1. yuktvā̂ hárî (íti) vríshanâ.

Having yoked the bay stallions.

Vrishabhá, though itself originally meaning the male animal, had become fixed as the name of the bull, and in this process it had lost so much of its etymological import that the Vedic poet did not hesitate to define vrishabhá itself by the addition of vríshan. Thus we find:

viii. 93, 7. sáh vríshâ vrishabháh bhuvat.

May he (Indra) be a strong bull.

i. 54, 2. vríshâ vrisha-tvā̂ vrishabháh.

Indra by his strength a strong bull; but, literally, Indra by his manliness a male bull.

Even vrishabhá loses again its definite meaning; and as bull in bull-calf means simply male, or in bull-trout, large, so vrishabhá is added to átya, horse, to convey the meaning of large or powerful:

i. 177, 2. yé te vríshanah vrishabhā̂sah indra—átyâh.

Thy strong and powerful horses; literally, thy male bull-horses.

When vríshan and vrishabhá are used as adjectives, for instance with súshma, strength, they hardly differ in meaning:

vi. 19, 8. ā̂ nah bhara vríshanam súshmam indra.

Bring us thy manly strength, O Indra.

And in the next verse:

vi. 19, 9. ā̂ te súshmah vrishabháh etu.

May thy manly strength come near.

Vámsaga, too, which is clearly the name for bull, is defined by vríshan, i. 7, 8:

v*ri*shâ yûthā́-iva vá*m*saga*h*.

As the strong bull scares the herds.

The same applies to varā́ha, which, though by itself meaning boar, is determined again by v*ri*shan:

x. 67, 7. v*rí*sha-bhi*h* varā́hai*h*.

With strong boars.

In iii. 2, 11, we read:

v*rí*shâ—nā́nadat ná si*m*há*h*.

Like a roaring lion.

If used by itself, v*rí*shan, at least in the Rig-veda, can hardly be said to be the name of any special animal, though in later Sanskrit it may mean bull or horse. Thus if we read, x. 43, 8, v*rí*shâ ná kruddhá*h*, we can only translate like an angry male, though, no doubt, like a wild bull, would seem more appropriate.

i. 186, 5. yéna nápâtam apā́m *g*unā́ma mana*h*-*g*úva*h* v*rí*sha*n*a*h* yám váhanti.

That we may excite the son of the water (Agni), whom the males, quick as thought, carry along.

Here the males are no doubt the horses or stallions of Agni. But, though this follows from the context, it would be wrong to say that v*rí*shan by itself means horse.

If used by itself, v*rí*shan most frequently means man, and chiefly in his sexual character. Thus:

i. 140, 6. v*rí*shâ-iva pátnî*h* abhí eti róruvat.

Agni comes roaring like a husband to his wives.

i. 179, 1. ápi ûm (íti) nú pátnî*h* v*rí*sha*n*a*h* *g*agamyu*h*.

Will the husbands now come to their wives?

ii. 16, 8. sak*rí*t sú te sumatí-bhi*h*—sám pátnîbhi*h* ná v*rí*sha*n*a*h* nasîmahi.

May we for once cling firmly to thy blessings, as husbands cling to their wives.

v. 47, 6. upa-prakshé v*rí*sha*n*a*h* módamânâ*h* divá*h* pathā́ vadhvā́*h* yanti á*kkh*a.

The exulting men come for the embrace on the path of heaven towards their wives.

In one or two passages v*rí*shan would seem to have a still more definite meaning, particularly in the formula sū́ra*h* d*rí*sîke v*rí*sha*n*a*h* *k*a paú*m*sye, which occurs iv. 41, 6; x. 92, 7. See also i. 179, 1.

In all the passages which we have hitherto examined vríshan clearly retained its etymological meaning, though even then it was not always possible to translate it by male.

The same meaning has been retained in other languages in which this word can be traced. Thus, in Zend, arshan is used to express the sex of animals in such expressions as aspahé arshnô, gen. a male horse; varâzahe arshnô, gen. a male boar; géus arshnô, gen. a male ox; but likewise in the sense of man or hero, as arsha husrava, the hero Husrava. In Greek we find *ἄρσην* and *ἄῤῥην* used in the same way to distinguish the sex of animals, as *ἄρσενες ἵπποι*, *βοῦν ἄρσενα*. In Latin the same word may be recognized in the proper name *Varro*, and in *vâro* and *bâro*.

We now come to another class of passages in which vríshan is clearly intended to express more than merely the masculine gender. In some of them the etymological meaning of *spargere*, to pour forth, seems to come out again, and it is well known that Indian commentators are very fond of explaining vríshan by giver of rain, giver of good gifts, bounteous. The first of these meanings may indeed be admitted in certain passages, but in others it is more than doubtful.

i. 181, 8. vríshâ vâm megháh may be translated, your raining cloud.

i. 129, 3. dasmáh hí sma vríshanam pínvasi tvákam.

Thou art strong, thou fillest the rainy skin, i.e. the cloud.

See also iv. 22, 6; and possibly v. 83, 6.

It may be that, when applied to Soma too, vríshan retained something of its etymological meaning, that it meant gushing forth, poured out, though in many places it is impossible to render vríshan, as applied to Soma, by anything but strong. All we can admit is that vríshan, if translated by strong, means also strengthening and invigorating, an idea not entirely absent even in our expression, a strong drink.

i. 80, 2. sáh tvâ amadat vríshâ mádah, sómah—sutáh.

This strong draught inspirited thee, the poured out Soma-juice.

i. 91, 2. tvám v*r*íshâ v*r*isha-tvébhi*h*.

Thou, Soma, art strong by strength.

i. 175, 1. v*r*íshâ te v*r*ísh*n*e índu*h* vâ*g*î sahasra-sắtama*h*.

For thee, the strong one, there is strong drink, powerful, omnipotent.

In the ninth Ma*nd*ala, specially dedicated to the praises of Soma, the inspiriting beverage of gods and men, the repetition of v*r*íshan, as applied to the juice and to the god who drinks it, is constant. Indo v*r*íshâ or v*r*íshâ indo are incessant invocations, and become at last perfectly meaningless.

There can be no doubt, in fact, that already in the hymns of the Veda, v*r*íshan had dwindled away to a mere *epitheton ornans*, and that in order to understand it correctly, we must, as much as possible, forget its etymological colouring, and render it by hero or strong. Indra, Agni, the A*s*vins, Vish*n*u, the *R*ibhus (iv. 35, 6), all are v*r*íshan, which means no longer male, but manly, strong.

In the following passages v*r*íshan is thus applied to Indra:

i. 54, 2. yá*h* dh*r*ish*n*únâ *s*ávasâ ródasî (íti) ubhé (íti) v*r*íshâ v*r*isha-tvấ v*r*ishabhá*h* ni-*r*iñ*g*áte.

(Praise Indra) who by his daring strength conquers both heaven and earth, a bull, strong in strength.

i. 100, 1. sá*h* yá*h* v*r*íshâ v*r*ísh*n*yebhi*h* sám-okâ*h* mahá*h* divá*h* p*r*ithivyấ*h* *k*a sam-rấ*t* satîná-satvâ hávya*h* bháreshu marútvân na*h* bhavatu índra*h* ûtî́.

He who is strong, wedded to strength, who is the king of the great sky and the earth, of mighty might, to be invoked in battles,—may Indra with the Maruts come to our help!

i. 16, 1. ấ tvâ vahantu háraya*h* v*r*ísha*n*am sóma-pîtaye, índra tvâ sū́ra-*k*akshasa*h*.

May the bays bring thee hither, the strong one, to the Soma-draught, may the sunny-eyed horses (bring) thee, O Indra!

iv. 16, 20. evá ít índrâya v*r*ishabhấya v*r*ísh*n*e bráhma akarma bh*r*ígava*h* ná rátham.

Thus we have made a hymn for Indra, the strong bull, as the Bh*r*igus make a chariot.

x. 153, 2. tvám vrishan vríshâ ít asi.

Thou, O hero, art indeed a hero; and not, Thou, O male, art indeed a male; still less, Thou, O bull, art indeed a bull.

i. 101, 1. avasyávah vríshanam vágra-dakshinam marútvantam sakhyā́ya havâmahe.

Longing for help we call as our friend the hero who wields the thunderbolt, who is accompanied by the Maruts.

viii. 6, 14. ní súshne indra dharnasím vágram gaghantha dásyavi, vríshâ hí ugra srinvishé.

Thou, O Indra, hast struck the strong thunderbolt against Sushna, the fiend; for, terrible one, thou art called hero!

viii. 6, 40. vavridhânáh úpa dyávi vríshâ vagrī́ aroravît, vritra-hā́ soma-pā́tamah.

Growing up by day, the hero with the thunderbolt has roared, the Vritra-killer, the great Soma-drinker.

v. 35, 4. vríshâ hí ási rā́dhase gagñishé vríshni te sávah.

Thou (Indra) art a hero, thou wast born to be bounteous; in thee, the hero, there is might.

It is curious to watch the last stage of the meaning of vríshan in the comparative and superlative várshîyas and várshishtha. In the Veda, várshishtha still means excellent, but in later Sanskrit it is considered as the superlative of vriddha, old, so that we see vríshan, from meaning originally manly, vigorous, young, assuming in the end the meaning of old. (M. M., Sanskrit Grammar, § 252.)

Yet even thus, when vríshan means simply strong or hero, its sexual sense is not always forgotten, and it breaks out, for instance, in such passages as,

i. 32, 7. vríshnah vádhrih prati-mā́nam búbhûshan purutrā́ vritráh asayat ví-astah.

Vritra, the eunuch, trying to be like unto a man (like unto Indra), was lying, broken to many pieces.

The next passages show vríshan as applied to Agni:

iii. 27, 15. vríshanam tvâ vayám vrishan vríshanah sám idhîmahi.

O, strong one, let us the strong ones kindle thee, the strong!

v. 1, 12. ávo*k*âma kaváye médhyâya vá*k*a*h* vandā́ru v*ri*shabhā́ya v*ŕi*sh*n*e.

We have spoken an adoring speech for the worshipful poet, for the strong bull (Agni).

Vish*n*u is called v*ŕi*shan, i. 154, 3:

prá vísh*n*ave *s*ûshám etu mánma giri-kshíte uru-gâyā́ya v*ŕi*sh*n*e.

May this hymn go forth to Vish*n*u, he who dwells in the mountain (cloud), who strides wide, the hero!

Rudra is called v*ŕi*shan:

ii. 34, 2. rudrá*h* yát va*h* maruta*h* rukma-vakshasa*h* v*ŕi*shâ á*g*ani p*ri*́*s*nyâ*h* *s*ukré ū́dhani.

When Rudra, the strong man, begat you, O Maruts with brilliant chests, in the bright bosom of P*ri**s*ni.

That the Maruts, the sons of Rudra, are called v*ŕi*shan, we have seen before, and shall see frequently again, (i. 165, 1; ii. 33, 13; vii. 56, 20; 21; 58, 6.) The whole company of the Maruts is called v*ŕi*shâ ga*n*á*h*, the strong or manly host, i. e. the host of the Maruts, without any further qualification.

Here lies, indeed, the chief difficulty which is raised by the common use of v*ŕi*shan in the Veda, that when it occurs by itself, it often remains doubtful who is meant by it, Indra, or Soma, or the Maruts, or some other deity. We shall examine a few of these passages, and first some where v*ŕi*shan refers to Indra:

iv. 30, 10. ápa ushā́*h* ánasa*h* sarat sám-pish*t*ât áha bibhyúshî, ní yát sîm *s*i*s*náthat v*ŕi*shâ.

Ushas went away from her broken chariot, fearing lest the hero should do her violence.

Here v*ŕi*shan is clearly meant for Indra, who, as we learn from the preceding verse, was trying to conquer Ushas, as Apollo did Daphne; and it should be observed that the word itself, by which Indra is here designated, is particularly appropriate to the circumstances.

i. 103, 6. bhū́ri-karma*n*e v*ri*shabhā́ya v*ŕi*sh*n*e satyá-*s*ushmâya sunavâma sómam, yá*h* â-d*ŕi*tya paripanthī́-iva *s*ū́ra*h* áya*g*vana*h* vi-bhá*g*an éti véda*h*.

Let us pour out the Soma for the strong bull, the performer of many exploits, whose strength is true, the hero

who, watching like a footpad, comes to us dividing the wealth of the infidel.

Here it is clear again from the context that Indra only can be meant.

But in other passages this is more doubtful:

iii. 61, 7. ritásya budhné ushásâm ishanyán vríshâ mahí (íti) ródasî (íti) ấ vivesa.

The hero in the depth of the heaven, yearning for the dawns, has entered the great sky and the earth.

The hero who yearns for the dawns, is generally Indra; here, however, considering that Agni is mentioned in the preceding verse, it is more likely that this god, as the light of the morning, may have been meant by the poet. That Agni, too, may be called vríshan, without any other epithet to show that he is meant rather than any other god, is clear from such passages as,

vi. 3, 7. vríshâ rukshấh óshadhîshu nûnot.

He the wild hero shouted among the plants.

In vii. 60, 9, vrishanau, the dual, is meant for Mitra and Varuna; in the next verse, vrishanah, the plural, must mean the same gods and their companions.

That Soma is called simply vríshan, not only in the ninth Mandala, but elsewhere, too, we see from such passages as,

iii. 43, 7. índra píba vrísha-dhûtasya vríshnah (ấ yám te syenấh usaté gabhấra), yásya máde kyaváyasi prá krishtíh yásya máde ápa gotrấ vavártha.

Indra drink of the male (the strong Soma), bruised by the males (the heavy stones), inspirited by whom thou makest the people fall down, inspirited by whom thou hast opened the stables.

Here Sâyana, too, sees rightly that 'the male bruised by the males' is the Soma-plant, which, in order to yield the intoxicating juice, has to be bruised by stones, which stones are again likened to two males. But unless the words, enclosed in brackets, had stood in the text, words which clearly point to Soma, I doubt whether Sâyana would have so readily admitted the definite meaning of vríshan as Soma.

i. 109, 3. mấ khedma rasmín íti nấdhamânâh pitrînấm

*s*akti*h* anu-yá*kkh*amânâ*h*, indrâgní-bhyâm kám v*r*ísha*n*a*h* madanti tā́ hí ádrî (íti) dhishá*n*âyâ*h* upá-sthe.

We pray, let us not break the cords (which, by means of the sacrifices offered by each generation of our forefathers, unite us with the gods); we strive after the powers of our fathers. The Somas rejoice for Indra and Agni; here are the two stones in the lap of the vessel.

First, as to the construction, the fact that participles are thus used as finite verbs, and particularly when the subject changes in the next sentence, is proved by other passages, such as ii. 11, 4. The sense is that the new generation does not break the sacrificial succession, but offers Soma, like their fathers. The Soma-plants are ready, and, when pressed by two stones, their juice flows into the Soma-vessel. There may be a *double entendre* in dhishá*n*âyâ*h* upá-sthe, which Sanskrit scholars will easily perceive.

When v*r*íshan is thus used by itself, we must be chiefly guided by the adjectives or other indications before we determine on the most plausible translation. Thus we read:

i. 55, 4. sá*h* ít váne namasyú-bhi*h* va*k*asyate *k*ā́ru *g*áneshu pra-bruvâ*n*á*h* indriyám, v*r*íshâ *kh*ándu*h* bhavati haryatá*h* v*r*íshâ kshéme*n*a dhénâm maghá-vâ yát ínvati.

In the first verse the subject is clearly Indra: 'He alone is praised by worshippers in the forest, he who shows forth among men his fair power.' But who is meant to be the subject of the next verse? Even Sâya*n*a is doubtful. He translates first: 'The bounteous excites the man who wishes to sacrifice; when the sacrificer, the rich, by the protection of Indra, stirs up his voice.' But he allows an optional translation for the last sentences: 'when the powerful male, Indra, by his enduring mind reaches the praise offered by the sacrificer.'

According to these suggestions, Wilson translated: 'He (Indra) is the granter of their wishes (to those who solicit him); he is the encourager of those who desire to worship (him), when the wealthy offerer of oblations, enjoying his protection, recites his praise.'

Benfey: 'The bull becomes friendly, the bull becomes desirable, when the sacrificer kindly advances praise.'

Langlois: 'When the noble Maghavan receives the

homage of our hymns, his heart is flattered, and he responds to the wishes of his servant by his gifts.'

As far as I know, the adjective *kh*ándu does not occur again, and can therefore give us no hint. But haryatá, which is applied to vrίshan in our verse, is the standing epithet of Soma. It means delicious, and occurs very frequently in the ninth Ma*nd*ala. It is likewise applied to Agni, Pûshan, the Haris, the thunderbolt, but wherever it occurs our first thought is of Soma. Thus, without quoting from the Soma-Ma*nd*ala, we read, x. 96, 1, haryatám mádam, the delicious draught, i. e. Soma.

x. 96, 9. pîtvấ mádasya haryatásya ándhasa*h*, means having drunk of the draught of the delicious Soma.

viii. 72, 18. padám haryatásya ni-dhânyấm, means the place where the delicious Soma resides.

iii. 44, 1. haryatá*h* sóma*h*.

Delicious Soma.

ii. 21, 1. bhara índrâya sómam ya*g*atấya haryatám.

Bring delicious Soma for the holy Indra.

i. 130, 2. mádâya haryatấya te tuví*h*-tamâya dhấyase.

That thou mayest drink the delicious and most powerful draught, i. e. the Soma.

If, then, we know that vrίshan by itself is used in the sense of Soma, haryatá vrίshan can hardly be anything else, and we may therefore translate the second line of i. 55, 4, 'the strong Soma is pleasing, the strong Soma is delicious, when the sacrificer safely brings the cow.'

That Indra was thirsting for Soma had been said in the second verse, and he is again called the Soma-drinker in the seventh verse. The bringing of the cow alludes to the often mentioned mixture with milk, which the Soma undergoes before it is offered.

That the Maruts are called vrίshan, without further explanations, will appear from the following passages:

i. 85, 12. rayím na*h* dhatta vrisha*n*a*h* su-vîram.

Give us wealth, ye heroes, consisting of good offspring.

viii. 96, 14. íshyâmi va*h* vrisha*n*a*h* yúdhyata â*g*aú.

I wish for you, heroes (Maruts), fight in the race!

In all the passages which we have hitherto examined, vrίshan was always applied to living beings, whether

animals, men, or gods. But as, in Greek, ἄρρην means at last simply strong, and is applied, for instance, to the crash of the sea, κτύπος ἄρσην πόντου, so in the Veda v*r*íshan is applied to the roaring of the storms and similar objects.

v. 87, 5. svaná*h* v*r*íshâ.

Your powerful sound (O Maruts).

x. 47, 1. *g*ag*r*ibhmá te dákshi*n*am indra hástam vasuyáva*h* vasu-pate vásûnâm, vidmá hí tvâ gó-patim *s*ûra gónâm asmábhyam *k*itrám v*r*ísha*n*am rayím dâ*h*.

We have taken thy right hand, O Indra, wishing for treasures, treasurer of treasures, for we know thee, O hero, to be the lord of cattle; give us bright and strong wealth.

Should *k*itrá here refer to treasures, and v*r*íshan to cattle?

x. 89, 9. ní amítreshu vadhám indra túmram v*r*íshan v*r*íshâ*n*am arushám *s*i*s*îhi.

Whet, O hero, the heavy strong red weapon, against the enemies.

The long â in v*r*íshâ*n*am is certainly startling, but it occurs once more, ix. 34, 3, where there can be no doubt that it is the accusative of v*r*íshan. Professor Roth takes v*r*íshan here in the sense of bull (s. v. tumra), but he does not translate the whole passage.

iii. 29, 9. k*r*i*n*óta dhûmám v*r*ísha*n*am sakhâya*h*.

Make a mighty smoke, O friends!

Strength itself is called v*r*íshan, if I am right in translating the phrase v*r*ísha*n*am *s*úshmam by manly strength. It occurs,

iv. 24, 7. tásmin dadhat v*r*ísha*n*am *s*úshmam índra*h*.

May Indra give to him manly strength.

vi. 19, 8. ấ na*h* bhara v*r*ísha*n*am *s*úshmam indra.

Bring to us, O Indra, manly strength.

vii. 24, 4. asmé (íti) dádhat v*r*ísha*n*am *s*úshmam indra.

Giving to us, O Indra, manly strength.

See also vi. 19, 9, *s*úshma*h* v*r*ishabhá*h*, used in the same sense.

This constant play on the word v*r*íshan, which we have observed in the passages hitherto examined, and which give by no means a full idea of the real frequency of its

occurrence in the Veda, has evidently had its influence on the Vedic *R*ishis, who occasionally seem to delight in the most silly and unmeaning repetitions of this word, and its compounds and derivatives. Here no language can supply any adequate translation; for though we may translate words which express thoughts, it is useless to attempt to render mere idle play with words. I shall give a few instances:

i. 177, 3. ấ tish*th*a rátham v*r*íshha*n*am v*r*íshâ te sutá*h* sóma*h* pári-siktâ mádhûni, yuktvấ v*r*ísha-bhyâm v*r*ishabha kshitînấm hári-bhyâm yâhi pra-vátâ úpa madrík.

Mount the *strong* car, the *strong* Soma is poured out for thee, sweets are sprinkled round; come down towards us, thou bull of men, with the *strong* bays, having yoked them.

But this is nothing yet compared to other passages, when the poet cannot get enough of v*r*íshan and v*r*ishabhá.

ii. 16, 6. v*r*íshâ te vá*g*ra*h* utá te v*r*íshâ rátha*h* v*r*íshha*n*â hárî (íti) v*r*ishabhấ*n*i ấyudhâ, v*r*íshna*h* mádasya v*r*ishabha tvám î*s*ishe índra sómasya v*r*ishabhásya t*r*ip*n*uhi.

Thy thunderbolt is *strong*, and thy car is *strong*, *strong* are the bays, the weapons are *powerful*, thou, bull, art lord of the *strong* draught, Indra rejoice in the *powerful* Soma!

v. 36, 5. v*r*íshâ tvâ v*r*íshha*n*am vardhatu dyaú*h* v*r*íshâ v*r*ísha-bhyâm vahase hári-bhyâm, sá*h* na*h* v*r*íshâ v*r*ísha-ratha*h* su-*s*ipra v*r*ísha-krato (íti) v*r*íshâ va*g*rin bháre dhâ*h*.

May the *strong* sky increase thee, the *strong*; a *strong* one thou art, carried by two *strong* bays; do thou who art *strong*, with a *strong* car, O thou of *strong* might, *strong* holder of the thunderbolt, keep us in battle!

v. 40, 2–3. v*r*íshâ grấvâ v*r*íshâ máda*h* v*r*íshâ sóma*h* ayám sutá*h*, v*r*íshan indra v*r*ísha-bhi*h* v*r*itrahan-tama, v*r*íshâ tvâ v*r*íshha*n*am huve.

The stone is *strong*, the draught is *strong*, this Soma that has been poured out is *strong*, O thou *strong* Indra, who killest V*r*itra with the *strong* ones (the Maruts), I, the *strong*, call thee, the *strong*.

viii. 13, 31–33. v*r*íshâ ayám indra te rátha*h* utó (íti) te v*r*íshha*n*â hárî (íti), v*r*íshâ tvám *s*ata-krato (íti) v*r*íshâ háva*h*. v*r*íshâ grấvâ v*r*íshâ máda*h* v*r*íshâ sóma*h* ayám sutá*h*, v*r*íshâ ya*g*ñá*h* yám ínvasi v*r*íshâ háva*h*. v*r*íshâ tvâ v*r*íshha*n*am

huve vágrin kitrấbhih ûtí-bhih, vavántha hí práti-stutim vríshâ hávah.

This thy car is *strong*, O Indra, and thy bays are *strong;* thou art *strong*, O omnipotent, our call is *strong*. The stone is *strong*, the draught is *strong*, the Soma is *strong*, which is here poured out; the sacrifice which thou orderest, is *strong*, our call is *strong*. I, the *strong*, call thee, the *strong*, thou holder of the thunderbolt, with manifold blessings; for thou hast desired our praise; our call is *strong*.

There are other passages of the same kind, but they are too tedious to be here repeated. The commentator, throughout, gives to each vríshan its full meaning either of showering down or bounteous, or male or bull; but a word which can thus be used at random has clearly lost its definite power, and cannot call forth any definite ideas in the mind of the listener. It cannot be denied that here and there the original meaning of vríshan would be appropriate even where the poet is only pouring out a stream of majestic sound, but we are not called upon to impart sense to what are *verba et præterquam nihil.* When we read, i. 122, 3, vấtah apấm vrishan-vân, we are justified, no doubt, in translating, 'the wind who pours forth water;' and x. 93, 5, apấm vrishan-vasû (íti) sû́ryâmấsâ, means 'Sun and Moon, givers of water.' But even in passages where vríshan is followed by the verb vrish, it is curious to observe that vrish is not necessarily used in the sense of raining or pouring forth, but rather in the sense of drinking.

vi. 68, 11. índrâvarunâ mádhumat-tamasya vríshnah sómasya vrishanâ * ấ vrishethâm.

* The dual vrishanau occurs only when the next word begins with a vowel. Before an initial a, â, i, the au is always changed into âv in the Sanhitâ (i. 108, 7–12; 116, 21; 117, 19; 153, 2; 157, 5; 158, 1; 180, 7; vii. 61, 5). Before u the preceding au becomes â in the Sanhitâ, but the Pada gives au, in order to show that no Sandhi can take place between the two vowels (vii. 60, 9; x. 66, 7). Before consonants the dual always ends in â, both in the Sanhitâ and Pada. But there are a few passages where the final â occurs before initial vowels, and where the two vowels are allowed to form one syllable. In four passages this happens before an initial â (i. 108, 3; vi. 68, 11; i. 177, 1; ii. 16, 5). Once, and once only, it happens before u, in viii. 22, 12.

Indra and Varuna, you strong ones, may you drink of the sweetest strong Soma.

That â-vrish means to drink or to eat, was known to Sâyana and to the author of the Satapatha-brâhmana, who paraphrases â vrishâyadhvam by asnîta, eat.

The same phrase occurs i. 108, 3.

i. 104, 9. uru-vyákâh gathára ấ vrishasva.

Thou of vast extent, drink (the Soma) in thy stomach.

The same phrase occurs x. 96, 13.

viii. 61, 3. ấ vrishasva—sutásya indra ándhasah.

Drink, Indra, of the Soma that is poured out.

In conclusion, a few passages may be pointed out in which vríshan seems to be the proper name of a pious worshipper:

i. 36, 10. yám tvâ devấsah mánave dadhúh ihá yágishtham havya-vâhana, yám kánvah médhya-atithih dhana-sprítam yám vríshâ yám upa-stutáh.

Thee, O Agni, whom the gods placed here for man, the most worthy of worship, O carrier of oblations, thee whom Kanva, thee whom Medhyâtithi placed, as the giver of wealth, thee whom Vrishan placed and Upastuta.

Here the commentator takes Vrishan as Indra, but this would break the symmetry of the sentence. That Upastutah is here to be taken as a proper name, as Upastuta, the son of Vrishtihavya, is clear from verse 17:

agníh prá âvat mitrấ utá médhya-atithim agníh sâtấ upastutám.

Agni protected also the two friends, Medhyâtithi and Upastuta, in battle.

The fact is that whenever upastutá has the accent on the last syllable, it is intended as a proper name, while, if used as a participle, in the sense of praised, it has the accent on the first.

viii. 5, 25. yáthâ kit kánvam ấvatam priyá-medham upastutám.

As you have protected Kanva, Priyamedha, Upastuta. Cf. i. 112, 15.

viii. 103, 8. prá mámhishthâya gâyata—úpastutâsah agnáye.

Sing, O Upastutas, to the worthiest, to Agni!

x. 115, 9. íti tvâ agne v*r*ish*t*i-hávyasya putrấ*h* upastutấsa*h* *r*íshaya*h* avo*k*an.

By these names, O Agni, did the sons of V*r*ish*t*ihavya, the Upastutas, the *R*ishis, speak to you.

V*r*ishan occurs once more as a proper name in vi. 16, 14 and 15:

tám û*m* (íti) tvâ dadhyáṅ *r*íshi*h* putrá*h* îdhe átharva*n*a*h*, v*r*itra-hánam puram-darám.

tám û*m* (íti) tvâ pâthyá*h* v*r*íshâ sám îdhe dasyuhántamam, dhanam-*g*ayám. rá*n*e-ra*n*e.

Thee, O Agni, did Dadhya*k* kindle, the *R*ishi, the son of Atharvan, thee the killer of V*r*itra, the destroyer of towns.

Thee, O Agni, did V*r*ishan Pâthya kindle, thee the best killer of enemies, the conqueror of wealth in every battle.

Here the context can leave no doubt that Dadhya*k* as well as V*r*ishan were both intended as proper names. Yet as early as the composition of the *S*atapatha-brâhma*n*a, this was entirely misunderstood. Dadhya*k*, the son of Atharvan, is explained as speech, V*r*ishan Pâthya as mind (*S*at. Br. vi. 3, 3, 4). On this Mahîdhara, in his remarks on Vâ*g*. Sanh. xi. 34, improves still further. For though he allows his personality to Dadhya*k*, the son of Atharvan, he says that Pâthya comes from pathin, path, and means he who moves on the right path; or it comes from pâthas, which means sky, and is here used in the sense of the sky of the heart. He then takes v*r*ishan as mind, and translates the mind of the heart. Such is the history of the rise and fall of the Indian mind!

Mandala I, Sûkta 86.

Ashtaka I, Adhyâya 6, Varga 11–12.

1. Mârutah yásya hí kshâye pâthá diváh vi-mahasah, sáh su-gopấtamah gánah.

2. Yagñaíh vâ yagña-vâhasah víprasya vâ matînấm, mârutah srinutá hávam.

3. Utá vâ yásya vâgínah ánu vípram átakshata, sáh gántâ gó-mati vragé.

4. Asyá vîrásya barhíshi sutáh sómah dívishtishu, ukthám mádah ka sasyate.

5. Asyá sroshantu ấ bhúvah * vísvâh yáh karshanî́h abhí, sấram kit sasrúshîh íshah.

6. Pûrvî́bhih hí dadâsimá sarát-bhih marutah vayám, ávah-bhih karshanînấm.

7. Su-bhágah sáh pra-yagyavah mârutah astu mártyah, yásya práyâmsi párshatha.

8. Sasamânásya vâ narah svédasya satya-savasah, vidá kấmasya vénatah.

9. Yûyám tát satya-savasah âvíh karta mahi-tvanấ, vídhyata vi-dyútâ rákshah.

10. Gấhata gúhyam támah ví yâta vísvam atrínam, gyótih karta yát usmási.

* â-bhúvah

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. O Maruts, that man in whose dwelling you drink (the Soma), ye mighty (sons) of heaven, he indeed has the best guardians.[1]

2. You who are propitiated[1] either by sacrifices or from the prayers of the sage, hear the call, O Maruts!

3. Aye, the strong man to whom you have granted a sage, he will live in a stable rich in cattle.[1]

4. On the altar of that strong man Soma is poured out in daily sacrifices; praise and joy are sung.

5. To him let the strong[1] Maruts listen, to him who surpasses all men, as the flowing rain-clouds[2] pass over the sun.

6. For we, O Maruts, have sacrificed in many a harvest, through the mercies[1] of the swift gods (the storm-gods).

7. May that mortal be blessed, O worshipful Maruts, whose offerings you carry off.[1]

8. You take notice either of the sweat of him who praises you, ye men of true strength, or of the desire of the suppliant.[1]

9. O ye of true strength, make this manifest by your greatness! strike the fiend[1] with your thunderbolt!

10. Hide the hideous darkness, destroy[1] every tusky[2] spirit. Create the light which we long for!

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. The metre is Gâyatrî throughout.

Verse 1, note [1]. Vímahas occurs only once more as an epithet of the Maruts, v. 87, 4. Being an adjective derived from máhas, strength, it means very strong. The strong ones of heaven is an expression analogous to i. 64, 2. divá*h* *r*ishvā́sa*h* ukshá*n*a*h*; i. 64, 4. divá*h* nára*h*.

Verse 2, note [1]. The construction of this verse is not clear. Ya*g*ñá-vâhas has two meanings in the Veda. It is applied to the priest who carries or performs the sacrifice:

iii. 8, 3, and 24, 1. vár*k*a*h* dhâ*h* ya*g*ñá-vâhase.

Grant splendour to the sacrificer!

But it is also used of the gods who accept the sacrifice, and in that case it means hardly more than worshipped or propitiated; i. 15, 11 (A*s*vinau); iv. 47, 4 (Indra and Vâyu); viii. 12, 20 (Indra). In our verse it is used in the latter sense, and it is properly construed with the instrumental ya*g*ñaí*h*. The difficulty is the gen. plur. matînā́m, instead of matíbhi*h*. The sense, however, seems to allow of but one construction, and we may suppose that the genitive depends on the ya*g*ña in ya*g*ñávâhas, 'accepting the worship of the prayers of the priest.' Benfey refers ya*g*ñaí*h* to the preceding verse, and joins hávam to víprasya matînā́m: 'Durch Opfer—Opferfördrer ihr!—oder ihr hört —Maruts—den Ruf der Lieder die der Priester schuf.'

The Sanhitâ text lengthens the last syllable of *s*ri*n*utá, as suggested by the metre.

Verse 3, note [1]. The genitive yásya vâ*g*ína*h* depends on vípra. Anu-taksh, like anu-grah, anu-*g*ñâ, seems to convey the meaning of doing in behalf or for the benefit of a person. Gántâ might also be translated in a hostile sense, he will go into, he will conquer many a stable full of cows.

Verse 5, note [1]. I have altered ā́ bhúva*h* into âbhúva*h*,

for I do not think that bhúvah, the second pers. sing., even if it were bhúvat, the third pers., could be joined with the relative pronoun yáh in the second pada. The phrase vísvâh yáh karshanîh abhí occurs more than once, and is never preceded by the verb bhuvah or bhuvat. Âbhúvah, on the contrary, is applied to the Maruts, i. 64, 6, vidátheshu âbhúvah; and as there can be no doubt who are the deities invoked, âbhúvah, the strong ones, is as appropriate an epithet as vímahas in the first verse.

Verse 5, note [2]. Sasrúshîh íshah, as connected with sûra, the sun, can only be meant for the flowing waters, the rain-clouds, the givers of ish or vigour. They are called divyâh íshah:

viii. 5, 21. utá nah divyâh íshah utá síndhûn varshathah.

You rain down on us the heavenly waters and the rivers.

Wilson translates: 'May the Maruts, victorious over all men, hear (the praises) of this (their worshipper); and may (abundant) food be obtained by him who praises them.'

Benfey: 'Ihn, der ob alle Menschen ragt, sollen hören die Labungen, und nahn, die irgend Weisen nahn.'

Langlois: 'Que les Marouts écoutent favorablement la prière; qu'ils acceptent aussi les offrandes de ce (mortel) que sa position élève au-dessus de tous les autres, et même jusqu'au soleil.'

Sroshantu does not occur again; but we find sróshan, i. 68, 5; sróshamâna, iii. 8, 10; vii. 51, 1; vii. 7, 6.

Verse 6, note [1]. The expression ávobhih, with the help, the blessings, the mercies, is generally used with reference to divine assistance; (i. 117, 19; 167, 2; 185, 10; 11; iv. 22, 7; 41, 6; v. 74, 6; vi. 47, 12; vii. 20, 1; 35, 1, &c.) It seems best therefore to take karshaní as a name or epithet of the Maruts, although, after the invocation of the Maruts by name, this repetition is somewhat unusual. One might translate, 'with the help of our men, of our active and busy companions,' for karshaní is used in that sense also. Only ávobhih would not be in its right place then.

Verse 7, note [1]. Par, with ati, means to carry over,

(i. 97, 8; 99, 1; 174, 9; iii. 15, 3; 20, 4; iv. 39, 1; v. 25, 9; 73, 8; vii. 40, 4; 97, 4; viii. 26, 5; 67, 2, &c.); with apa, to remove, (i. 129, 5); with ni*h*, to throw down. Hence, if used by itself, unless it means to overrun, as frequently, it can only have the general sense of carrying, taking, accepting, or accomplishing.

Verse 8, note [1]. Vidá as second pers. plur. perf. is frequent, generally with the final 'a' long in the Sanhitâ, i. 156, 3; v. 41, 13; 55, 2.

Verse 9, note [1]. Observe the long penultimate in ráksha*h*, instead of the usual short syllable. Cf. i. 12, 5, and see Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. iii. p. 456.

Verse 10, note [1]. See note to i. 39, 3, note [1].

Verse 10, note [2]. Atrín, which stands for attrín, is one of the many names assigned to the powers of darkness and mischief. It is derived from atrá, which means tooth or jaw, and therefore meant originally an ogre with large teeth or jaws, a devourer. Besides atrá, we also find in the Veda átra, with the accent on the first syllable, and meaning what serves for eating, or food:

x. 79, 2. átrâ*n*i asmai pa*t*-bhí*h* sám bharanti.

They bring together food for him (Agni) with their feet.

With the accent on the last syllable, atrá in one passage means an eater or an ogre, like atrín:

v. 32, 8. apấdam atrám—m*r*idhrá-vâ*k*am.

Indra killed the footless ogre, the babbler.

It means tooth or jaw:

i. 129, 8. svayám sấ rishayádhyai yấ na*h* upa-îshé atraí*h*.

May she herself go to destruction who attacks us with her teeth.

It is probably from atrá in the sense of tooth (cf. ὀδόντες = ἐδόντες) that atrín is derived, meaning ogre or a devouring devil. In the later Sanskrit, too, the Asuras are represented as having large tusks, Mahâbh. v. 3572, da*m*sh*t*rí*n*o bhîmavegâ*s* *k*a.

Thus we read i. 21, 5, that Indra and Agni destroy the Rakshas, and the poet continues:

ápra*g*âh santu atrí*n*ah.

May the ogres be without offspring!

ix. 86, 48. *g*ahí vísvân rakshásah indo (íti) atrí*n*ah.

Kill, O Soma, all the tusky Rakshas. Cf. ix. 104, 6; 105, 6.

vi. 51, 14. *g*ahí ní atrí*n*am pa*n*ím.

Kill, O Soma, the tusky Pa*n*i.

i. 94, 9. vadhaíh du*h*-sá*m*sân ápa du*h*-dhyãh *g*ahi
dûré vâ yé ánti vâ ké *k*it atrí*n*ah.

Strike with thy blows, O Agni, the evil-spoken, evil-minded (spirits), the ogres, those who are far or who are near.

See also i. 36, 14; 20; vi. 16, 28; vii. 104, 1; 5; viii. 12, 1; 19, 15; x. 36, 4; 118, 1.

Mandala I, Sûkta 87.
Ashtaka I, Adhyâya 6, Varga 13.

1. Prá-tvakshasa*h* prá-tavasa*h* vi-raps*í*na*h* ánâna-tâ*h* ávithurâ*h* *rig*îshí*n*a*h*, *g*úsh*t*a-tamâsa*h* n*rí*-ta-mâsa*h* añ*g*í-bhi*h* ví ânagre ké *k*it usrâ*h*-iva st*rí*-bhi*h*.

2. Upa-hvaréshu yát â*k*idhvam yayím váya*h*-iva maruta*h* kéna *k*it pathâ, *sk*ótanti kó*s*â*h* úpa va*h* rátheshu â ghritám ukshata mádhu-var*n*am ár-*k*ate.

3. Prá eshâm á*g*meshu vithurâ-iva re*g*ate bhûmi*h* yâmeshu yát ha yuñ*g*áte *s*ubhé, té krî*l*áya*h* dhúna-ya*h* bhrâ*g*at-*r*ish*t*aya*h* svayám mahi-tvám panayanta dhûtaya*h*.

4. Sá*h* hí sva-s*r*ít p*r*íshat-a*s*va*h* yúvâ ga*n*á*h* ayâ î*s*âná*h* távishîbhi*h* â-v*r*ita*h*, ási satyá*h* *rin*a-yâvâ ánedya*h* asyâ*h* dhiyá*h* pra-avitâ átha v*r*íshâ ga*n*á*h*.

5. Pitú*h* pratnásya *g*ánmanâ vadâmasi sómasya *g*ihvâ prá *g*igâti *k*ákshasâ, yát îm índram *s*ámi *r*íkvâ*n*a*h* â*s*ata ât ít nâmâni ya*g*ñíyâni dadhire.

6. *S*riyáse kám bhânú-bhi*h* sám mimikshire té ra*s*mí-bhi*h* té *r*íkva-bhi*h* su-khâdáya*h*, té vâ*s*î-manta*h* ishmí*n*a*h* ábhîrava*h* vidré priyásya mâruta-sya dhâmna*h*.

Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. The active, the strong, the singers, the never flinching, the immovable, the wild, the most beloved and most manly, they have shown themselves with their glittering ornaments, a few only,[1] like the heavens with the stars.

2. When you see your way through the clefts, you are like birds, O Maruts, on whatever road it be.[1] The clouds drop (rain) on your chariots everywhere; pour out the honey-like fat (the rain) for him who praises you.

3. At their ravings the earth shakes, as if broken,[1] when on the (heavenly) paths they harness (their deer) for victory.[2] They the sportive, the roaring, with bright spears, the shakers (of the clouds) have themselves praised their greatness.

4. That youthful company (of the Maruts), with their spotted horses,[1] moves by itself; hence[2] it exercises lordship, and is invested with powers. Thou art true, thou searchest out sin,[3] thou art without blemish. Therefore thou, the strong host, thou wilt cherish this prayer.

5. We speak after the kind of our old father, our tongue goes forth at the sight[1] of the Soma: when the shouting Maruts had joined Indra in the work,[2] then only they received sacrificial honours;—

6. For their glory[1] these well-equipped Maruts obtained splendours, they obtained[2] rays, and men to praise them; nay, these well-armed, nimble, and fearless beings found the beloved home of the Maruts.[3]

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama. The metre is *G*agatî throughout.

Verse 1, note [1]. Ké *k*it refers to the Maruts, who are represented as gradually rising or just showing themselves, as yet only few in number, like the first stars in the sky. Ké *k*it, some, is opposed to sarve, all. The same expression occurs again, v. 52, 12, where the Maruts are compared to a few thieves. B. and R. translate usrấ*h* iva st*rí*-bhi*h* by 'like cows marked with stars on their foreheads.' Such cows no doubt exist, but they can hardly be said to become visible by these frontal stars, as the Maruts by their ornaments. We must take usrấ*h* here in the same sense as dyấva*h*; ii. 34, 2, it is said that the Maruts were perceived dyấva*h* ná st*rí*-bhi*h*, like the heavens with the stars.

i. 166, 11. dûre-d*rí*sa*h* yé divyấ*h*-iva st*rí*-bhi*h*.

Who are visible far away, like the heavens (or heavenly beings) by the stars.

And the same is said of Agni, ii. 2, 5. dyaú*h* ná st*rí*-bhi*h* *k*itayat ródasî (íti) ánu. St*rí*bhi*h* occurs i. 68, 5; iv. 7, 3; vi. 49, 3; 12. It always means stars, and the meaning of rays (*strahl*) rests, as yet, on etymological authority only. The evening sky would, no doubt, be more appropriate than usrấ*h*, which applies chiefly to the dawn. But in the Indian mind, the two dawns, i. e. the dawn and the gloaming, are so closely united and identified, that their names, too, are frequently interchangeable.

Verse 2, note [1]. I translate yayí not by a goer, a traveller, i. e. the cloud, (this is the explanation proposed by Sâya*n*a, and adopted by Professor Benfey,) but by path. Etymologically yayí may mean either. But in parallel passages yayí is clearly replaced by yấma. Thus:

viii. 7, 2. yát—yấmam *s*ubhrâ*h* á*k*idhvam.

When you, bright Maruts, have seen your way.

See also viii. 7, 4. yát yấmam yấnti vâyú-bhi*h*.

When they (the Maruts) go on their path with the winds.

viii. 7, 14. ádhi-iva yát girînẫm yẫmam subhrâh ákidhvam.

When you, bright Maruts, had seen your way, as it were, along the mountains.

The same phrase occurs, even without yẫma or yayí, in

v. 55, 7. ná párvatâh ná nadyẫh varanta vah yátra ákidhvam marutah gákkhata ít u tát.

Not mountains, not rivers, keep you back; where you have seen (your way), there you go.

Though yayí does not occur frequently in the Rig-veda, the meaning of path seems throughout more applicable than that of traveller.

v. 87, 5. tvesháh yayíh.

Your path, O Maruts, is brilliant.

v. 73, 7. ugráh vâm kakuháh yayíh.

Fearful is your pass on high.

i. 51, 11. ugráh yayím níh apáh srótasâ asrigat.

The fearful Indra sent the waters forth on their way streaming.

x. 92, 5. prá—yayínâ yanti síndhavah.

The waters go forth on their path.

Verse 3, note [1]. Cf. i. 37, 8, page 51. There is no authority for Sâyana's explanation of vithurẫ-iva, the earth trembles like a widow. Vithurẫ occurs several times in the Rig-veda, but never in the sense of widow. Thus:

i. 168, 6. yát kyaváyatha vithurẫ-iva sám-hitam.

When you, Maruts, shake what is compact, like brittle things.

i. 186, 2; vi. 25, 3; 46, 6; viii. 96, 2; x. 77, 4 (vithuryáti). The Maruts themselves are called ávithura in verse 1. As to ágma and yẫma, see i. 37, 8, page 62.

Verse 3, note [2]. Súbh is one of those words to which it is very difficult always to assign a definite special meaning. Being derived from súbh, to shine, the commentator has no difficulty in explaining it by splendour, beauty; sometimes by water. But although súbh means originally splendour, and is used in that sense in many passages, yet there are others where so vague a meaning seems very inappropriate. In our verse Sâyana proposes two trans-

lations, either, 'When the Maruts harness the clouds,' or, 'When the Maruts harness their chariots, for the bright rain-water.' Now the idea that the Maruts harness their chariots in order to make the clouds yield their rain, can hardly be expressed by the simple word *s*ubhé, i.e. for brightness' sake. As the Maruts are frequently praised for their glittering ornaments, their splendour might be intended in this passage as it certainly is in others. Thus:

i. 85, 3. yát *s*ubháyante añ*g*í-bhi*h* tanúshu *s*ubhrấ*h* dadhire virúkmata*h*.

When the Maruts adorn themselves with glittering ornaments, the brilliant ones put bright weapons on their bodies.

vii. 56, 6. *s*ubhấ *s*óbhish*th*â*h*, *s*riyấ sám-mi*s*lâ*h*, ó*g*a*h*-bhi*h* ugrấ*h*.

The most brilliant by their brilliancy, united with splendour, terrible by strength.

In i. 64, 4, I have translated váksha*h*-su rukmấn ádhi yetire *s*ubhé by 'they fix gold (chains) on their chests for beauty.' And the same meaning is applicable to i. 117, 5, *s*ubhé rukmám ná dar*s*atám ní-khâtam, and other passages: iv. 51, 6; vi. 63, 6.

But in our verse and others which we shall examine, beauty and brilliancy would be very weak renderings for *s*ubhé. 'When they harnessed their chariots or their deer for the sake of beauty,' means nothing, or, at least, very little. I take, therefore, *s*ubhé in this and similar phrases in the sense of triumph or glory or victory. 'When they harness their chariots for to conquer,' implies brilliancy, glory, victory, but it conveys at the same time a tangible meaning. Let us now see whether the same meaning is appropriate in other passages:

i. 23, 11. *g*áyatâm-iva tanyatú*h* marútâm eti dh*r*ish*n*u-yấ yát *s*úbham yâthána nara*h*.

The thundering voice of the Maruts comes fiercely, like that of conquerors, when you go to conquer, O men!

Sâya*n*a: 'When you go to the brilliant place of sacrifice.' Wilson: 'When you accept the auspicious (offering).' Benfey: 'Wenn ihr euren Schmuck nehmt.'

v. 57, 2. yâthana *s*úbham, you go to conquer. Cf. v. 55, 1.

Sâya*n*a: 'For the sake of water, or, in a chariot.'

v. 52, 8. sárdhah mắrutam út samsa—utá sma té subhé nárah prá syandrắh yugata tmánâ.

Praise the host of the Maruts, and they, the men, the quickly moving, will harness by themselves (the chariots) for conquest.

Sâyana: 'For the sake of water.' Cf. x. 105, 3.

v. 57, 3. subhé yát ugrâh príshatîh áyugdhvam.

When you have harnessed the deer for conquest.

Sâyana: 'For the sake of water.'

v. 63, 5. rátham yuñgate marútah subhé su-khám sắrah ná—gó-ishtishu.

The Maruts harness the chariot meet for conquest, like a hero in battles.

Sâyana: 'For the sake of water.'

i. 88, 2. subhé kám yânti—ásvaih.

The Maruts go on their horses towards conquest.

Sâyana: 'In order to brighten the worshipper, or, for the sake of water.'

i. 119, 3. sám yát mitháh paspridhânắsah ágmata subhé makhắh ámitâh gâyávah ráne.

When striving with each other they came together, for the sake of glory, the brisk (Maruts), immeasurable (in strength), panting for victory in the fight.

Sâyana: 'For the sake of brilliant wealth.'

vii. 82, 5. marút-bhih ugráh súbham anyáh îyate.

The other, the fearful (Indra), goes with the Maruts to glory.

Sâyana: 'He takes brilliant decoration.'

iii. 26, 4. subhé—príshatîh ayukshata.

They had harnessed the deer for victory.

Sâyana: 'They had harnessed in the water the deer together (with the fires).'

i. 167, 6. ắ asthâpayanta yuvatím yúvânah subhé nímislâm.

The Maruts, the youths, placed the maid (lightning on their chariot), their companion for victory, (subhé nímislâm).

Sâyana: 'For the sake of water, or, on the brilliant chariot.' Cf. i. 127, 6; 165, 1.

vi. 62, 4. súbham príksham ísham ắrgam váhantâ.

The Asvins bringing glory, wealth, drink, and food.

viii. 26, 13. *s*ubhé *k*akrâte, you bring him to glory.

*S*ubham-yấvan is an epithet of the Maruts, i. 89, 7; v. 61, 13. Cf. *s*ubhra-yâvânâ, viii. 26, 19 (A*s*vinau).

*S*ubham-yấ, of the wind, iv. 3, 6.

*S*ubham-yú, of the rays of the dawn, x. 78, 7.

Verse 4, note [1]. Sâya*n*a: 'With spotted deer for their horses.' See i. 37, 2, note [1], page 59.

Verse 4, note [2]. Ayấ is a word of very rare occurrence in the Rig-veda. It is the instrum. sing. of the feminine pronominal base â or î, and as a pronoun followed by a noun it is frequently to be met with; v. 45, 11. ayấ dhiyấ, &c. But in our verse it is irregular in form as not entering into Sandhi with î*s*ân*áh*. This irregularity, however, which might have led us to suppose an original ay*ấh*, indefatigable, corresponding with the following ási, is vouched for by the Pada text, in such matters a better authority than the Sanhitâ text, and certainly in this case fully borne out by the Prâti*s*âkhya, i. 163, 10. We must therefore take ayấ as an adverb, in the sense of thus or hence. In some passages where ayấ seems thus to be used as an adverb, it would be better to supply a noun from the preceding verse. Thus in ii. 6, 2, ayấ refers to samídham in ii. 6, 1. In vi. 17, 15, a similar noun, samídhâ or girấ, should be supplied. But there are other passages where, unless we suppose that the verse was meant to illustrate a ceremonial act, such as the placing of a samídh, and that ayấ pointed to it, we must take it as a simple adverb, like the Greek τῷ: Rv. iii. 12, 2; ix. 53, 2; 106, 14. In x. 116, 9, the Pada reads áyâ*h*-iva, not áyâ, as given by Roth; in vi. 66, 4, áyâ nú, the accent is likewise on the first.

Verse 4, note [3]. *Ri*n*a*-yấvan is well explained by B. and R. as going after debt, searching out sin. Sâya*n*a, though he explains *ri*n*a*-yấvan by removing sin, derives it nevertheless correctly from *ri*n*a* and yâ, and not from yu. The same formation is found in *s*ubham-yấvan, &c.; and as there is *ri*n*a*-yấ besides *ri*n*a*-yấvan, so we find *s*ubham-yấ besides *s*ubham-yấvan.

Verse 5, note [1]. The Soma-juice inspires the poet with eloquence.

Verse 5, note [2]. *S*ámi occurs again in ii. 31, 6; iii. 55, 3; viii. 45, 27; x. 40, 1. In our passage it must be taken as a locative of *s*ám, meaning work, but with special reference to the toil of the battle-field. It is used in the same sense in

viii. 45, 27. ví ânat turvá*n*e *s*ámi.

He (Indra) was able to overcome in battle, lit. he reached to, or he arrived at the overcoming or the victory in battle.

But, like other words which have the general meaning of working or toiling, *s*ám is likewise used in the sense of sacrifice. This meaning seems more applicable in

x. 40, 1. vásto*h*-vasto*h* váhamânam dhiyấ *s*ámi.

Your chariot, O A*s*vins, which through prayer comes every morning to the sacrifice.

ii. 31, 6. apấm nápât â*s*u-hémâ dhiyấ *s*ámi.

Apâm napât (Agni) who through prayer comes quickly to the sacrifice.

In these two passages one feels inclined, with a slight alteration of the accent, to read dhiyâ-*s*ámi as one word. Dhiyâ-*s*ám would mean the sacrificer who is engaged in prayer; cf. dhiyâ-*g*úr, v. 43, 15. Thus we read:

vi. 2, 4. yá*h* te su-dấnave dhiyấ márta*h* *s*a*s*ámate.

The mortal who toils for thee, the liberal god, with prayer.

There is no necessity, however, for such a change, and the authority of the MSS. is certainly against it.

In iii. 55, 3, *s*ámi is an acc. plur. neut.:

*s*ámi á*kkh*a dîdye pûrvyấ*n*i.

I glance back at the former sacrifices. See B. R. s.v. dî.

From the same root we have the feminine *s*ámî, meaning work, sacrificial work, but, as far as we can see, not simply sacrifice. Thus the *R*ibhus and others are said to have acquired immortality by their work or works, *s*ámî or *s*ámîbhi*h*, i. 20, 2; 110, 4; iii. 60, 3; iv. 33, 4. Cf. iv. 22, 8; 17, 18; v. 42, 10; 77, 4; vi. 52, 1; viii. 75, 14; ix. 74, 7; x. 28, 12. In vi. 3, 2, we read:

î*g*é ya*g*ñébhi*h* *s*a*s*amé *s*ámîbhi*h*.

I have sacrificed with sacrifices, I have worked with pious works.

Here the verb *s*am must be taken in the sense of working, or performing ceremonial worship, while in other places (iii. 29, 16; v. 2, 7) it takes the more special sense of singing songs of praise. The Greek κάμ-νω, to work, to labour, to tire (Sanskrit *s*âmyati), the Greek κομιδή and κομίζω, to labour for or take care of a person, and possibly even the Greek κῶμος, a song or a festival (not a village song), may all find their explanation in the Sanskrit root *s*am.

The idea that the Maruts did not originally enjoy divine honours will occur again and again: cf. i. 6, 4; 72, 3. A similar expression is used of the *R*ibhus, i. 20, 8, &c. Ya*g*ñíya, properly 'worthy of sacrifice,' has the meaning of divine or sacred. The Greek ἅγιος has been compared with yâ*g*ya, *sacrificio colendus*, not a Vedic word.

Verse 6, note [1]. *S*riyáse kám seems to be the same as the more frequent *s*riyé kám. *S*riyáse only occurs twice more, v. 59, 3. The chief irregularity consists in the absence of Gu*n*a, which is provided for by Pâ*n*ini's kasen (iii. 4, 9). Similar infinitives, if they may so be called, are bhiyáse, v. 29, 4; v*r*idháse, v. 64, 5; dhruváse, vii. 70, 1; tu*g*áse, iv. 23, 7; *r*iñ*g*áse, viii. 4, 17; v*r*iñ*g*áse, viii. 76, 1; *rik*áse, vii. 61, 6. In vi. 39, 5, *rik*áse may be a dat. sing. of the masculine, to the praiser.

Verse 6, note [2]. Mimikshire from myaksh, to be united with. Ra*s*mí, rays, after bhânú, splendour, may seem weak, but it is impossible to assign to ra*s*mí any other meaning, such as reins, or strings of a musical instrument. In v. 79, 8, ra*s*mí is used in juxta-position with ar*k*í.

Verse 6, note [3]. The bearing of this concluding verse is not quite clear, unless we take it as a continuation of the preceding verse. It was there said that the Maruts (the *r*íkvâ*n*a*h*) obtained their sacrificial honours, after having joined Indra in his work. Having thus obtained a place

in the sacrifice, they may be said to have won at the same time splendour and worshippers to sing their praises, and to have established themselves in what became afterwards known as their own abode, their own place among the gods who are invoked at the sacrifice.

The metre requires that we should read dhâmanaḥ.

Benfey translates: 'Gedeih'n zu spenden woll'n die schöngeschmücketen mit Lichtern, Strahlen mit Lobsängern regenen; die brüllenden, furchtlosen stürmischen, sie sind bekannt als Glieder des geliebten Marutstamms.'

Wilson: 'Combining with the solar rays, they have willingly poured down (rain) for the welfare (of mankind), and, hymned by the priests, have been pleased partakers of the (sacrificial food). Addressed with praises, moving swiftly, and exempt from fear, they have become possessed of a station agreeable and suitable to the Maruts.'

Mandala I, Sûkta 88.
Ashtaka I, Adhyâya 6, Varga 14.

1. Á vidyúnmat-bhih marutah su-arkaíh ráthebhih yâta rishtimát-bhih * ásva-parnaih, á várshishthayâ nah ishá váyah ná paptata su-mâyâh.

2. Té arunébhih váram á pisángaih subhé kám yânti rathatúh-bhih ásvaih, rukmáh ná kitráh † svádhiti-vân pavyá ráthasya ganghananta bhúma.

3. Sriyé kám vah ádhi tanúshu vásîh medhá ‡ vánâ ná krinavante ûrdhvá, yushmábhyam kám marutah su-gâtâh tuvi-dyumnásah dhanayante ádrim.

4. Áhâni grídhrâh pári á vah á aguh imám dhíyam vârkâryám ka devím, bráhma krinvántah gótamâsah arkaíh ûrdhvám nunudre utsa-dhím píbadhyai.

5. Etát tyát ná yóganam aketi sasváh ha yát marutah gótamah vah, pásyan híranya-kakrân áyahdamshtrân vi-dhávatah varáhûn.

6. Eshá syá vah marutah anu-bhartrí práti stobhati vâghátah ná vánî, ástobhayat vríthâ âsâm ánu svadhám gábhastyoh.

---

* rishti-mantah? † kitráh eshâm? ‡ medháh

HYMN TO THE MARUTS (THE STORM-GODS).

1. Come hither, Maruts, on your chariots charged with lightning, resounding with beautiful songs,[1] stored with spears, and winged with horses! Fly[3] to us like birds, with your best food,[2] you mighty ones!

2. They come gloriously on their red, or, it may be, on their tawny horses which hasten their chariots. He who holds the axe[1] is brilliant like gold;—with the felly[2] of the chariot they have struck the earth.

3. On your bodies there are daggers for beauty; may they stir up our minds[1] as they stir up the forests. For your sake, O well-born Maruts, you who are full of vigour, they (the priests) have shaken[2] the stone (for distilling Soma).

4. Days went round you and came back,[1] O hawks, back to this prayer, and to this sacred rite; the Gotamas making prayer with songs, have pushed up the lid of the well (the cloud) (for) to drink.

5. No such hymn[1] was ever known as this which Gotama sounded for you, O Maruts, when he saw you on golden wheels, wild boars[2] rushing about with iron tusks.

6. This refreshing draught of Soma rushes towards you, like the voice of a suppliant: it rushes freely from our hands as these libations are wont to do.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Gotama, the son of Rahûgana. The metre varies. Verses 1 and 6 are put down as Prastâra-paṅkti, i. e. as 12 + 12 + 8 + 8. By merely counting the syllables, and dissolving semivowels, it is just possible to get twenty-four syllables in the first line of verses 1 and 6. The old metricians must have scanned verse 1:

â vidyunmat-bhi*h* maruta*h* su-arkai*h*
rathebhi*h* yâta‿*r*ish*t*imat-bhi*h* a*s*va-par*n*ai*h*.

Again verse 6: eshâ syâ va*h* maruta*h* anu-bhartrî
prati stobhati vâghata*h* na vâ*n*î.

But the general character of these lines shows that they were intended for hendecasyllabics, each ending in a bacchius, though even then they are not free from irregularities. The first verse would scan:

â vidyunmat-bhi*h* maruta*h* su-arkai*h*
rathebhi*h* yâta‿*r*ish*t*imat-(bhi*h*) a*s*va-par*n*ai*h*.

And verse 6: eshâ syâ va*h* maruta*h*‿anu-bhartrî
prati stobhati vâghata*h* na vâ*n*î.

Our only difficulty would be the termination bhi*h* of *r*ish*t*imat-bhi*h*. I cannot adopt Professor Kuhn's suggestion to drop the Visarga of bhi*h* and change i into y (Beiträge, vol. iv. p. 198), for this would be a license without any parallel. It is different with sa*h*, originally sa, or with feminines in i*h*, where parallel forms in î are intelligible. The simplest correction would be to read rathebhi*h* yâta‿*r*ish*t*i-manta*h*‿a*s*va-par*n*ai*h*. One might urge in support of this reading that in all other passages where *r*ish*t*imat occurs, it refers to the Maruts themselves, and never to their chariots. Yet the difficulty remains, how could so simple a reading have been replaced by a more difficult one?

In the two Gâyatrî pâdas which follow I feel equally reluctant to alter. I therefore scan

â varshish*th*ayâ na*h* ishâ vaya*h* na paptata su-mâyâ*h*,

taking the dactyl of paptata as representing a spondee, and

admitting the exceptional bacchius instead of the amphimacer at the end of the line.

The last line of verse 6 should be scanned:

astobhayat vrithâ-âsâm anu svadhâm gabhastyoh.

There are two other verses in this hymn where the metre is difficult. In the last pâda of verse 5 we have seven syllables instead of eleven. Again, I say, it would be most easy to insert one of the many tetrasyllabic epithets of the Maruts. But this would have been equally easy for the collectors of the Veda. Now the authors of the Anukramanîs distinctly state that this fifth verse is virâdrûpâ, i. e. that one of its pâdas consists of eight syllables. How they would have made eight syllables out of vi-dhâvatah varâhûn does not appear, but at all events they knew that last pâda to be imperfect. The rhythm does not suffer by this omission, as long as we scan vi-dhâvatah varâhûn.

Lastly, there is the third pâda of the second verse, rukmah na kitrah svadhiti-vân. It would not be possible to get eleven syllables out of this, unless we admitted vyûha not only in svadhitivân or svadhitî-vân, but also in kitrah. Nothing would be easier than to insert eshâm after kitrah, but the question occurs again, how could eshâm be lost, or why, if by some accident it had been lost, was not so obvious a correction made by Saunaka and Kâtyâyana?

Verse 1, note [1]. Alluding to the music of the Maruts, and not to the splendour of the lightning which is mentioned before. See Wolf, Beiträge zur Deutschen Mythologie, vol. ii. p. 137. 'Das Ross und den Wagen des Gottes begleitet munterer Hörnerschall, entweder stösst er selbst ins Horn, oder sein Gefolge. Oft vernimmt man auch eine liebliche Musik, der keine auf Erden gleich kommt (Müllenhof, 582). Das wird das Pfeifen und Heulen des Sturmes sein, nur in idealisirter Art.' Ibid. p. 158.

Verse 1, note [2]. Várshishtha, which is generally explained as the superlative of vriddha, old, (Pân. vi. 4, 157,) has in most passages of the Rig-veda the more general meaning of strong or excellent: vi. 47, 9. ísham á vakshi ishấm várshishthâm; iii. 13, 7 (vásu); iii. 26, 8 (rátna);

iii. 16, 3 (raî); iv. 31, 15; viii. 46, 24 (srávah); iv. 22, 9 (nrimná); v. 67, 1 (kshatrá); vi. 45, 31 (mûrdhán). In some passages, however, it may be taken in the sense of oldest (i. 37, 6; v. 7, 1), though by no means necessarily. Várshishtha is derived in reality from vríshan, in the sense of strong, excellent. See note to i. 85, 12, page 126.

Verse 1, note [3]. Paptata, the second person plural of the Let of the reduplicated base of pat. It is curiously like the Greek πίπτετε, but it has the meaning of flying rather than falling: see Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 190. Two other forms formed on the same principle occur in the Rig-veda, paptah and paptan:

ii. 31, 1. prá yát váyah ná páptan.

That they may fly to us like birds.

vi. 63, 6. prá vâm váyah—ánu paptan.

May your birds fly after you.

x. 95, 15. púrûravah mấ mrithâh mấ prá paptah.

Purûravas, do not die, do not fly away!

Verse 2, note [1]. Though svadhiti-vân does not occur again, it can only mean he who holds the axe, or, it may be the sword or the thunderbolt, the latter particularly, if Indra is here intended. Svadhiti signifies axe:

iii. 2, 10. svá-dhitim ná tégase.

They adorned Agni like an axe to shine or to cut.

The svádhiti is used by the butcher, i. 162, 9; 18; 20; and by the wood-cutter or carpenter, iii. 8, 6; 11; x. 89, 7, &c. In v. 32, 10, a devî́ svádhitih is mentioned, possibly the lightning, the companion of Indra and the Maruts.

Verse 2, note [2]. The felly of the chariot of the Maruts is frequently mentioned. It was considered not only as an essential part of their chariot, but likewise as useful for crushing the enemy:

v. 52, 9. utá pavyấ ráthânâm ádrim bhindanti ógasâ.

They cut the mountain (cloud) with the felly of their chariot.

i. 166, 10. pavíshu kshurấh ádhi.

On their fellies are sharp edges.

In v. 31, 5, fellies are mentioned without horses and chariot, which were turned by Indra against the Dasyus, (i. 64, 11.) I doubt, however, whether in India or elsewhere the fellies or the wheels of chariots were ever used as weapons of attack, as detached from the chariot; (see M. M., On Pavîrava, in Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. iii. p. 447.) If we translate the figurative language of the Vedic poets into matter-of-fact terms, the fellies of the chariots of the Maruts may be rendered by thunderbolts; yet by the poets of the Veda, as by the ancient people of Germany, thunder was really supposed to be the noise of the chariot of a god, and it was but a continuation of the same belief that the sharp wheels of that chariot were supposed to cut and crush the clouds; (see M. M., loc. cit. p. 444.)

Verse 3, note [1]. That the vâ*s*îs are small weapons, knives or daggers, we saw before, p. 59. Sâya*n*a here explains vâ*s*î by a weapon commonly called âra, or an awl. In x. 101, 10, vâ*s*îs are mentioned, made of stone, a*s*man-máyî.

The difficulty begins with the second half. Medhấ, as here written in the Pada text, could only be a plural of a neuter medhám, but such a neuter does nowhere exist in the Veda. We only find the masculine médha, sacrifice, which is out of the question here, on account of its accent. Hence the passage iii. 58, 2, ûrdhvấ*h* bhavanti pitárâ-iva médhâ*h*, is of no assistance, unless we alter the accent. The feminine medhấ means will, thought, prayer: i. 18, 6; ii. 34, 7; iv. 33, 10; v. 27, 4; 42, 13; vii. 104, 6; viii. 6, 10; 52, 9; ix. 9, 9; 26, 3; 32, 6; 65, 16; 107, 25; x. 91, 8. The construction does not allow us to take medhấ as a Vedic instrumental instead of medháyâ, nor does such a form occur anywhere else in the Rig-veda. Nothing remains, I believe, than to have recourse to conjecture, and the addition of a single Visarga in the Pada would remove all difficulty. In the next line, if tuvi-dyumnấsa*h* be the subject, it would signify the priests. This, however, is again without any warrant from the Rig-veda, where tuvi-dyumná is always used as an epithet of gods. I therefore take it as referring to the Maruts, as an

adjective in the nominative, following the vocatives marutah su-gâtâh. The conception that the Maruts stir up the forests is not of unfrequent occurrence in the Rig-veda: cf. i. 171, 3; v. 59, 6. That ûrdhvá is used of the mind, in the sense of roused, may be seen in i. 119, 2; 134, 1; 144, 1; vii. 64, 4. The idea in the poet's mind seems to have been that the thunderbolts of the Maruts rouse up men to prayer as they stir the tops of the forest trees.

Verse 3, note [2]. On dhan in the sense of to agitate, see B. and R. s. v.

Verse 4, note [1]. The first question is, which is the subject, áhâni or grídhrâh? If grídhrâh were the subject, then we should have to translate it by the eager poets, and take áhâni in the sense of visvâ ahâni. The sense then might be: 'Day by day did the eager poets sing around you this prayer.' There would be several objections, however, to this rendering. First, grídhrâh never occurs again as signifying poets or priests. One passage only could be quoted in support, ix. 97, 57, kaváyah ná grídhrâh (not gridhrấh), like greedy poets. But even here, if this translation is right, the adjective is explained by kaví, and does not stand by itself. Secondly, áhâni by itself is never used adverbially in the sense of day after day. The only similar passage that might be quoted is iii. 34, 10, and that is very doubtful. To take áhâni as a totally different word, viz. as á + hâni, without ceasing, without wearying, would be too bold in the present state of Vedic interpretation. If then we take áhâni as the subject, grídhrâh would have to be taken as a vocative, and intended for the Maruts. Now, it is perfectly true, that by itself grídhra, hawk, does not occur again as a name of the Maruts, but syená, hawk, and particularly a strong hawk (ix. 96, 6), is not only a common simile applied to the Maruts, but is actually used as one of their names:

vii. 56, 3. abhí sva-pū́bhih mitháh vapanta vā́ta-svanasah syenā́h aspridhran.

They plucked each other with their beaks (?), the hawks, rushing like the wind, strove together.

Aguh might be the aorist of gai, to sing, or of gâ, to go:

i. 174, 8. sánâ tấ te indra návyâh ấ aguh.

New poets, O Indra, sang these thy old deeds.

iii. 56, 2. gấvah ấ aguh.

The cows approached.

If then the sense of the first line is, 'Days went and came back to you,' the next question is whether we are to extend the construction to the next words, imấm dhíyam vârkâryấm ka devī́m, or whether these words are to be joined to krinvántah, like bráhma. The meaning of vârkâryấ is, of course, unknown. Sâyana's interpretation as 'what is to be made by means of water' is merely etymological, and does not help us much. It is true that the object of the hymn, which is addressed to the Maruts, is rain, and that literally vârkâryấ might be explained as 'that the effect of which is rain.' But this is far too artificial a word for Vedic poets. Possibly there was some other word that had become unintelligible and which, by a slight change, was turned into vârkâryấ, in order to give the meaning of rain-producing. It might have been karkârya, glorious, or the song of a poet called Vârkara. The most likely supposition is that vârkâryấ was the name given to some famous hymn, some pæan or song of triumph belonging to the Gotamas, possibly to some verses of the very hymn before us. In this case the epithet devī́ would be quite appropriate, for it is frequently used for a sacred or sacrificial song: iv. 43, 1. devī́m su-stutím; iii. 18, 3. imấm dhíyam sata-séyâya devī́m. See, however, the note to verse 6.

The purport of the whole line would then be that many days have gone for the Maruts as well as for the famous hymn once addressed to them by Gotama, or, in other words, that the Gotamas have long been devoted to the Maruts, an idea frequently recurring in the hymns of the Veda, and, in our case, carried on in the next verse, where it is said that the present hymn is like one that Gotama composed when he saw the Maruts or spoke of them as wild boars with iron tusks. The pushing up the lid of the well for to drink, means that they obtained rain from the

cloud, which is here, as before, represented as a covered well.

See another explanation in Haug, Über die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes Brahma, 1868, p. 5.

Verse 5, note [1]. Yó*g*ana commonly means a chariot:

vi. 62, 6. are*n*ú-bhi*h* yó*g*anebhi*h* bhu*g*ántâ.

You who possess dustless chariots.

viii. 72, 6. á*s*va-vat yó*g*anam b*r*ihát.

The great chariot with horses.

It then became the name for a distance to be accomplished without unharnessing the horses, just as the Latin *jugum*, a yoke, then a *juger* of land, 'quod uno jugo boum uno die exarari posset,' Pliny xviii. 3, 3, 9.

In our passage, however, yó*g*ana means a hymn, lit. a composition, which is clearly its meaning in

viii. 90, 3. bráhma te indra girva*n*a*h* kriyánte ánatidbhutâ, imấ *g*ushasva hari-a*s*va yó*g*anâ índra yấ te ámanmahi.

Unequalled prayers are made for thee, praiseworthy Indra; accept these hymns which we have devised for thee, O Indra with bright horses!

Verse 5, note [2]. Varấhu has here the same meaning as varâhá, wild boar, (viii. 77, 10; x. 28, 4.) It occurs once more, i. 121, 11, as applied to V*r*itra, who is also called varâhá, i. 61, 7; x. 99, 6. In x. 67, 7, v*r*ísha-bhi*h* varấhai*h* (with the accent on the penultimate) is intended for the Maruts*. Except in this passage, varâha has the accent on the last syllable: ix. 97, 7, varâhá is applied to Soma.

Verse 6. This last verse is almost unintelligible to me. I give, however, the various attempts that have been made to explain it.

Wilson: 'This is that praise, Maruts, which, suited (to your merits), glorifies every one of you. The speech of the

---

* See Genthe, Die Windgottheiten, 1861, p. 14; Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, p. 689. Grimm mentions *eburðrung* (boar-throng) as a name of Orion, the star that betokens storm.

priest has now glorified you, without difficulty, with sacred verses, since (you have placed) food in our hands.'

Benfey: 'Dies Lied—Maruts!—das hinter euch emporstrebt, es klingt zurück gleich eines Beters Stimme Mühlos schuf solche Lieder er, entsprechend eurer Arme Kraft. (Note: Der zum Himmel schallende Lobgesang findet seinen Widerhall (wirklich, "bebt zurück") in dem Sturmgeheul der Maruts, welches mit dem Geheul des Betenden verglichen wird.)'

Langlois: 'O Marouts, la voix qui s'élève aujourd'hui vers vous, vous chante avec non moins de raison que celle qui vous célébra (jadis). Oui, c'est avec justice que nous vous exaltons dans ces (vers), tenant en nos mains les mets sacrés.'

My own translation is to a great extent conjectural. It seems to me from verse 3, that the poet offers both a hymn of praise and a libation of Soma. Possibly vârkâryâ in verse 4 might be taken in the sense of Soma-juice, and be derived from valkala, which in later Sanskrit means the bark of trees. In that case verse 5 would again refer to the hymn of Gotama, and verse 6 to the libation which is to accompany it. Anu-bhartrî does not occur again, but it can only mean what supports or refreshes, and therefore would be applicable to a libation of Soma which supports the gods. The verb stobhati would well express the rushing sound of the Soma, as in i. 168, 8, it expresses the rushing noise of the waters against the fellies of the chariots. The next line adds little beyond stating that this libation of Soma rushes forth freely from the hands, the gabhastîs being specially mentioned in other passages where the crushing of the Soma-plant is described:

ix. 71, 3. ádri-bhi*h* sutá*h* pavate gábhastyo*h*.

The Soma squeezed by the stones runs from the hands.

On svadhấ see p. 19.

Mandala I, Sûkta 165.
Ashtaka II, Adhyâya 3, Varga 24–26.

Indra*h*.

1. Káyâ *s*ubhấ sá-vayasa*h* sá-nîlâ*h* samânyấ marú-ta*h* sám mimikshu*h*, káyâ matî́ kúta*h* ấ-itâsa*h* eté ár*k*anti *s*úshmam v*r*íshana*h* vasu-yấ.

Indra*h*.

2. Kásya bráhmâ*n*i *g*u*g*ushu*h* yúvâna*h* ká*h* adhvaré marúta*h* ấ vavarta, *s*yenấn-iva dhrá*g*ata*h* antárikshe kéna mahấ mánasâ rîramâma.

Maruta*h*.

3. Kúta*h* tvám indra mấhina*h* sán éka*h* yâsi sat-pate kím te itthấ, sám p*r*i*kkh*ase sam-arâ*n*á*h* *s*ubhâ-naí*h* vo*k*é*h* tát na*h* hari-va*h* yát te asmé (íti).

---

1. Wilson: (Indra speaks): With what auspicious fortune have the Maruts, who are of one age, one residence, one dignity, watered (the earth) together: with what intention: whence have they come: Showerers of rain, they venerate, through desire of wealth, the energy (that is generated in the world by rain)?

Langlois: Quel éclat ces Marouts qui parcourent, qui habitent ensemble (les espaces de l'air) répandent par tout (le monde)! Que veulent-ils? d'où viennent-ils, généreux et riches, chercher les offrandes?

2. Wilson: Of whose oblations do the youthful (Maruts) approve: who attracts them to his (own) sacrifice (from the

Hymn to the Maruts and Indra.

The Prologue.

The sacrificer speaks:

1. With what splendour are the Maruts all equally[1] endowed,[2] they who are of the same age, and dwell in the same house? With what thoughts? From whence are they come?[3] Do these heroes sing forth their (own) strength[4] because they wish for wealth?

2. Whose prayers have the youths accepted? Who has turned the Maruts to his own sacrifice? By what strong devotion[1] may we delight them, they who float through the air like hawks?

The Dialogue.

The Maruts speak:

3. From whence,[1] O Indra, dost thou come alone, thou who art mighty? O lord of men,[2] what has thus happened to thee? Thou greetest (us)[3] when thou comest together with (us), the bright (Maruts).[4] Tell us then, thou with thy bay horses, what thou hast against us!

---

rites of others): with what powerful praise may we propitiate (them), wandering like kites in the mid-air?

Langlois: Quel est celui qui, par ses hommages, plaît à ces jeunes (divinités)? qui, par son sacrifice, attire les Marouts? Par quelle prière parviendrons-nous à retenir ces (dieux qui) comme des éperviers, parcourent les airs?

3. Wilson: (The Marûts): Indra, lord of the good, whither dost thou, who art entitled to honour, proceed alone: what means this (absence of attendance): when followed (by us), thou requirest (what is right). Lord of fleet horses, say to us, with pleasant words, that which thou (hast to say) to us.

Langlois: (Les Marouts parlent): Indra, maître des

Indra*h*.

4. Bráhmâ*n*i me matáya*h* *s*ám sutā́sa*h* *s*úshma*h* iyarti prá-bh*r*ita*h* me ádri*h*, ā́ *s*ấsate práti haryanti ukthā́ imā́ hárî (íti) vahata*h* tā́ na*h* á*kkh*a.

Maruta*h*.

5. Áta*h* vayám antamébhi*h* yu*g*ânā́*h* svá-kshatre-bhi*h* tanvā̃*h* *s*úmbhamânā́*h* máha*h*-bhi*h* étân úpa yu*g*-mahe nú índra svadhā́m ánu hí na*h* babhū́tha.

Indra*h*.

6. Kvã syā́ va*h* maruta*h* svadhā́ âsît yát mā́m ékam sam-ádhatta ahi-hátye, ahám hí ugrá*h* tavi-shá*h* túvishmân ví*s*vasya *s*átro*h* ánamam vadha-snaí*h*.

---

hommes pieux, d'où viens-tu, grand et unique? Que veux-tu? Toi qui est notre compagnon, tu peux nous répondre avec bonté. O dieu, traîné par des coursiers azurés, dis-nous ce que tu nous veux.

4. Wilson: (Indra): Sacred rites are mine: (holy) praises give me pleasure: libations are for me: my vigorous thunder-bolt, hurled (against my foes), goes (to its mark): me, do (pious worshippers) propitiate: hymns are addressed to me; these horses bear us to the presence (of those worshippers, and worship).

Langlois: (Indra parle): Les cérémonies, les prières, les hymnes, les libations, les offrandes, tout est à moi. Je porte la foudre. Des invocations, des chants se sont fait entendre. Mes chevaux m'amènent. Voilà ce que je veux ici.

5. Wilson: (The Maruts): Therefore we also, decorating our persons, are ready, with our docile and nigh-standing

Indra speaks:

4. The sacred songs are mine, (mine are) the prayers;[1] sweet[2] are the libations! My strength rises,[3] my thunderbolt is hurled forth. They call for me, the prayers yearn for me. Here are my horses, they carry me towards them.

The Maruts speak:

5. Therefore, in company with our strong friends,[1] having adorned our bodies, we now harness our fallow deer[2] with all our might;[3]—for, Indra, according to thy custom, thou hast been with us.

Indra speaks:

6. Where, O Maruts, was that custom of yours, that you should join me who am alone in the killing of Ahi? I indeed am terrible, strong, powerful,—I escaped from the blows of every enemy.[1]

---

steeds, (to attend thee) with all our splendour, to those rites; verily, Indra, thou appropriatest our (sacrificial) food.

Langlois: (Les Marouts parlent): Et nous, sur les puissants coursiers que voici, plaçant nos corps légers et brillants, nous joignons nos splendeurs aux tiennes. Et tu veux, Indra, t'approprier notre offrande?

6. Wilson: (Indra): Where, Maruts, has that (sacrificial) food been assigned to you, which, for the destruction of Ahi, was appropriated to me alone; for I indeed am fierce and strong and mighty, and have bowed down all mine enemies with death-dealing shafts.

Langlois: (Indra parle): Et comment cette offrande seraitelle pour vous, ô Marouts, quand vous reconnaissez ma supériorité en réclamant mon secours pour la mort d'Ahi? Je suis grand, fort et redoutable, et de mes traits, funestes à tous mes ennemis, j'ai tué Ahi.

Marutah.

7. Bhûri kakartha yúgyebhih asmé (íti) samânébhih vrishabha paúmsyebhih, bhûrîni hí krinávâma savishtha índra krátvâ marutah yát vásâma.

Indrah.

8. Vádhîm vritrám marutah indriyéna svéna bhấmena tavisháh babhûvấn, ahám etấh mánave visvá-kandrâh su-gấh apáh kakara vágra-bâhuh.

Marutah.

9. Ánuttam ấ te magha-van nákih nú ná tvấ-vân asti devátâ vídânah, ná gấyamânah násate ná gâtáh yấni karishyấ * krinuhí pra-vriddha.

Indrah.

10. Ékasya kit me vi-bhú astu ógah yấ nú

---

7. Wilson: (Maruts): Showerer (of benefits) thou hast done much; but it has been with our united equal energies; for we, too, most powerful Indra, have done many things, and by our deeds (we are, as) we desire to be, Maruts.

Langlois: (Les Marouts parlent): Tu as beaucoup fait, (dieu) généreux en venant nous seconder de ta force héroïque. Mais, ô puissant Indra, nous pouvons aussi beaucoup, quand, nous autres Marouts, nous voulons prouver notre vaillance.

8. Wilson: (Indra): By my own prowess (Maruts) I, mighty in my wrath, slew Vritra; armed with my thunderbolt, I created all these pellucid, gently-flowing waters for (the good of) man.

---

* karishyấh?

The Maruts speak:

7. Thou hast achieved much with us as companions.[1] With the same valour, O hero! let us achieve then many things, O thou most powerful, O Indra! whatever we, O Maruts, wish with our heart.[2]

Indra speaks:

8. I slew Vritra, O Maruts, with (Indra's) might, having grown strong through my own vigour; I, who hold the thunderbolt in my arms, I have made these all-brilliant waters to flow freely for man.[1]

The Maruts speak:

9. Nothing, O powerful lord, is strong before thee: no one is known among the gods[1] like unto thee. No one who is now born[2] will come near, no one who has been born. Do what has to be done,[3] thou who art grown so strong.

Indra speaks:

10. Almighty power be mine alone, whatever I

Langlois: (Indra parle): Marouts, j'ai tué Vritra, et je n'ai eu besoin que de ma colère et de ma force d'Indra. C'est moi, qui, la foudre à la main, ai ouvert un chemin à ces ondes qui font le bonheur de Manou.

9. Wilson: (Maruts): Verily, Maghavat, nothing (done) by thee is unavailing, there is no divinity as wise as thou; no one being born, or that has been born, ever surpasses the glorious deeds which thou, mighty (Indra), hast achieved.

Langlois: (Les Marouts parlent): O Maghavan, nous n'attaquons pas ta gloire. Personne, ô dieu, quand on connaît tes exploits, ne peut se croire ton égal. Aucun être, présent ou passé ne saurait te valoir. Tu es grand, fais ce que tu dois faire.

10. Wilson: (Indra): May the prowess of me alone be

dadh*r*ishvấn k*r*i*n*ávai manîshấ, ahám hí ugrá*h* marutah vídâna*h* yấni *k*yávam índra*h* ít îse eshâm.

Indra*h*.

11. Ámandat mâ maruta*h* stóma*h* átra yát me nara*h* srútyam bráhma *k*akrá, índrâya v*r*ísh*n*e súmakhâya máhyam sákhye sákhâya*h* tanvễ tanữbhi*h*.

Indra*h*.

12. Evá ít eté práti mâ ró*k*amânâ*h* ánedya*h** srávah ấ ísha*h* dádhânâ*h*, sam-*k*ákshya maruta*h* *k*andrá-var*n*â*h* á*kk*hânta me *kh*adáyâtha *k*a nûnám.

Agastya*h*.

13. Ká*h* nú átra maruta*h* mamahe va*h* prá yâtana

irresistible, may I quickly accomplish whatever I contemplate in my mind, for verily, Maruts, I am fierce and sagacious, and to whatever (objects) I direct (my thoughts), of them I am the lord, and rule (over them).

LANGLOIS: (Indra parle): Ma force est assez grande, pour que, seul, je puisse exécuter ce que je veux tenter. Je suis redoutable, ô Marouts, je sais ce que j'ai à faire, moi, Indra, maître de vous tous.

11. WILSON: Maruts, on this occasion praise delights me; that praise which is to be heard (by all), which men have offered me. To Indra, the showerer (of benefits), the object of pious sacrifice; to me, (endowed) with many forms, (do you) my friends (offer sacrifices) for (the nourishment of my) person.

* ánedyam?

may do, daring in my heart;[1] for I indeed, O Maruts, am known as terrible: of all that I threw down, I, Indra, am the lord.

Indra speaks:

11. O Maruts, now your praise has pleased me, the glorious hymn which you have made for me, ye men!—for me, for Indra, for the powerful hero, as friends for a friend, for your own sake and by your own efforts.[1]

Indra speaks:

12. Truly, there they are, shining towards me, assuming blameless glory, assuming vigour. O Maruts, wherever I have looked for you, you have appeared to me in bright splendour: appear to me also now!

The Epilogue.

The sacrificer speaks:

13. Who has magnified you here, O Maruts? Come

Langlois: O Marouts, l'éloge que vous avez fait de moi m'a flatté et surtout votre attention à me laisser votre part du sacrifice. Indra est généreux, et fêté par de nombreux hommages. Soyez mes amis, et développez vos corps (légers).

12. Wilson: Maruts, verily, glorifying me, and enjoying boundless fame and food (through my favour), do you, of golden colour, and invested with glory, cover me in requital, verily, (with renown.)

Langlois: Ainsi brillant à mes côtés, prenez dans les offrandes et dans les hymnes la part conforme à votre rang, O Marouts, vos couleurs sont merveilleuses. Resplendissons ensemble, et couvrez-moi (de vos corps) comme vous l'avez fait jusqu'à présent.

13. Wilson: (Agastya): What mortal, Maruts, worships you in this world: hasten, friends, to the presence of your

sákhîn ákkha sakhâyah, mánmâni kitrâh api-vâtá-yantah eshẫm bhûta návedâh me ritẫnâm.

Agastyah.

14. Ấ yát duvasyẫt duváse ná kârúh asmẫn kakré mânyásya medhẫ, ó (íti) sú varta marutah vípram ákkha imẫ bráhmâni garitẫ vah arkat.

Agastyah.

15. Esháh vah stómah marutah iyám gîh mândâr-yásya mânyásya kâróh, ẫ ishẫ yâsîshta tanvẽ vayẫm vidyẫma ishám vrigánam gîrá-dânum.

---

friends; wonderful (divinities), be to them the means of acquiring riches; and be not uncognisant of my merits.

LANGLOIS: (Le poëte parle): Quel est celui qui vous chante en ce moment, ô Marouts? Soyez-nous agréables, et venez vers des amis. D'un souffle propice favorisez nos vœux. Possesseurs de biens variés, daignez visiter notre sacrifice.

14. WILSON: Since the experienced intellect of a venerable (sage), competent to bestow praise upon (you), who deserve praise, has been exerted for us: do you, Maruts, come to the presence of the devout (worshipper) who, glorifying (you), worships you with these holy rites.

LANGLOIS: Si la science d'un sage nous a, comme un

COMMENTARY.

According to the Anukramanikâ this hymn is a dialogue between Agastya, the Maruts, and Indra. A careful consideration of the hymn would probably have led us to a similar conclusion, but I doubt whether it would have led us to adopt the same distribution of the verses among the poet, the Maruts, and Indra, as that adopted by the author of the

hither, O friends, towards your friends. Ye brilliant Maruts, cherish[1] these prayers, and be mindful of these my rites.

14. The wisdom of Mânya has brought us to this, that he should help as the poet helps the performer of a sacrifice: bring (them) hither quickly! Maruts, on to the sage! these prayers the singer has recited for you.[1]

15. This your praise, O Maruts, this your song comes from Mândârya, the son of Mâna,[1] the poet. Come hither with rain! May we find for ourselves offspring,[2] food, and a camp[3] with running water.

---

artiste habile, façonnés au culte pompeux que nous vous rendons, ô Marouts, traitez avec bonté l'homme qui, par ses prières et ses chants, vous a honorés.

15. Wilson: This praise, Maruts, is for you: this hymn is for you, (the work) of a venerable author, capable of conferring delight (by his laudations). May the praise reach you, for (the good of your) persons, so that we may (thence) obtain food, strength, and long life.

Langlois: O Marouts, cet éloge et cet hymne d'un respectable poëte s'addressent à vous. Il a voulu vous plaire. Venez avec l'abondance, en étendant vos réseaux. Que nous connaissions la prospérité, la force et l'heureuse vieillesse!

Anukramaṇikâ. He assigns the first two verses to Indra, the third, fifth, seventh, and ninth to the Maruts, the fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth to Indra, and the three concluding verses to Agastya. I think that the two verses in the beginning, as well as the three concluding verses, belong certainly to Agastya or to whoever else the real performer of the sacrifice may have been. The two verses in the beginning cannot be ascribed to Indra,

who, to judge from his language, would never say: 'By what strong devotion may we delight the Maruts?' It might seem, in fact, as if the three following verses, too, should be ascribed to the sacrificer, so that the dialogue between Indra and the Maruts would begin only with the sixth verse. The third verse might well be addressed to Indra by the sacrificer, and in the fourth verse we might see a description of all that he had done for Indra. What is against this view, however, is the phrase prábh*r*ita*h* me ádri*h*. If used by the sacrificer, it might seem to mean, 'my stone, i. e. the stone used for squeezing the Soma, has been brought forth.' But though Professor Roth assigns this meaning to prábh*r*ita in our passage, I doubt whether, in connection with ádri, or with vá*g*ra, prábh*r*ita can mean anything but hurled. Thus we read:

i. 61, 12. asmaí ít û*m* (íti) prá bhara—v*r*itrā́ya vá*g*ram.

Hurl thou, Indra, the thunderbolt against this V*r*itra.

v. 32, 7. yát îm vá*g*rasya prá-bh*r*itau dadā́bha.

When Indra conquered him in the hurling of the thunderbolt.

I therefore suppose the dialogue to begin with verse 3, and I find that Langlois, though it may be from different reasons, arrived at the same conclusion.

There can be little doubt that the other verses, to verse 12, are rightly apportioned between Indra and the Maruts. Verse 12 might perhaps be attributed again to the worshipper of the Maruts, but as there is no absolute necessity for assigning it to him, it is better to follow the tradition and to take it as the last verse of Indra's speech. It would seem, in fact, as if these ten verses, from 3 to 12, formed an independent poem, which was intended to show the divine power of the Maruts. That their divine power was sometimes denied, and that Indra's occasional contempt of them was well known to the Vedic poets, will become evident from other hymns. This dialogue seems therefore to have been distinctly intended to show that, in spite of occasional misunderstandings between the Maruts and the all-powerful Indra, Indra himself had fully recognized their power and accepted their friendship. If we suppose that this dialogue was repeated at sacrifices in honour of the

Maruts, or that possibly it was acted by two parties, one representing Indra, the other the Maruts and their followers, then the two verses in the beginning and the three at the end ought to be placed in the mouth of the actual sacrificer, whoever he was. He begins by asking, who has attracted the Maruts to his sacrifice, and by what act of praise and worship they can be delighted. Then follows the dialogue in honour of the Maruts, and after it the sacrificer asks again, 'Who has magnified the Maruts, i.e. have not we magnified them?' and he implores them to grant him their friendship in recognition of his acts of worship. If then we suppose that the dialogue was the work of Mândârya Mânya, the fourteenth verse, too, would lose something of its obscurity. Coming from the mouth of the actual sacrificer, it would mean, 'the wisdom, or the poetical genius, of Mânya has brought us to this, has induced us to do this, i.e. to perform this dialogue of Mânya, so that he, Mânya, should assist, as a poet assists the priest at a sacrifice.' If Mânya himself was present, the words ó sú varta, 'bring hither quickly,' would have to be taken as addressed to him by the sacrificer; the next, 'Maruts, on to the sage!' would be addressed to the Maruts, the sage (vípra) being meant for Mânya; and in the last words, too, 'these prayers the singer has recited for you,' the singer (*g*aritấ) might again be Mânya, the powerful poet whose services the sacrificer had engaged, and whose famous dialogue between Indra and the Maruts was considered a safe means of winning their favour. It would be in keeping with all this, if in the last verse the sacrificer once more informed the Maruts that this hymn of praise was the work of the famous poet Mândârya, the son of Mâna, and if he then concluded with the usual prayer for safety, food, and progeny.

Verse 1, note [1]. As samânī́ occurs in the Veda as the feminine of samâna (cf. iv. 51, 9; x. 191, 3; 4), samânyấ might, no doubt, be taken as an instrumental, belonging to *s*ubhấ. We should then have to translate: 'With what equal splendour are the Maruts endowed?' Sâya*n*a adopts the same explanation, while Wilson, who seems to have

read samânyâh, translates 'of one dignity.' Professor Roth, s. v. myaksh, would seem to take samânyâ as some kind of substantive, and he refers to another passage, i. 167, 4, sâdhâranyâ-iva marútah mimikshuh, without, however, detailing his interpretation of these passages.

It cannot be said that Sâyana's explanation is objectionable, yet there is something awkward in qualifying by an adjective, however indefinite, what forms the subject of an interrogative sentence, and it would be possible to avoid this, by taking samânyâ as an adverb. It is clearly used as an adverb in iii. 54, 7; viii. 83, 8.

Verse 1, note [2]. Mimikshuh is the perfect of myaksh, in the sense of to be firmly joined with something. It has therefore a more definite meaning than the Latin *miscere* and the Greek μίσγειν, which come from the same source, i. e. from a root *mik* or *mig*, in Sanskrit also mis in mis-ra; (see Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 300.) There may be indeed one or two passages in the Veda where myaksh seems to have the simple meaning of mixing, but it will be seen that they constitute a small minority compared with those where myaksh has the meaning of holding to, sticking to; I mean

x. 104, 2. mimikshúh yám ádrayah indra túbhyam.

The Soma which the stones have mixed for thee.

This form cannot be derived from mimiksh, but is the 3rd pers. plur. perf. Parasm. of myaksh. It may, however, be translated, 'This Soma which the stones have grasped or squeezed for thee,' as may be seen from passages quoted hereafter, in which myaksh is construed with an accusative.

ii. 3, 11. ghritám mimikshe.

The butter has been mixed.

This form cannot be derived from mimiksh, but is the 3rd pers. sing. perf. Âtm. of myaksh. If the meaning of mixing should be considered inadmissible, we might in this verse translate, 'The butter has become fixed, solid, or coagulated.'

Leaving out of consideration for the present the forms which are derived from mimiksh, we find the following passages in which myaksh occurs. Its original meaning

must have been to be mixed with, to be joined to, and in many passages that original sense is still to be recognized, only with the additional idea of being firmly joined, of sticking to, or, in an active sense, laying hold of, grasping firmly.

1. Without any case:

i. 169, 3. ámyak sā́ te indra *r*ish*t*í*h* asmé (íti).

This thy spear, O Indra, sits firm for us.

This would mean that Indra held his weapon well, as a soldier ought to hold his spear. Ā́myak is the 3rd pers. sing. of a second aor. Parasm., ámyaksham, ámyak(sht); (Sây. prâpnoti.) Cf. viii. 61, 18.

2. With locative:

x. 44, 2. mimyáksha vá*g*ra*h* n*r*i-pate gabhástau.

In thy fist, O king, the thunderbolt rests firmly.

i. 167, 3. mimyáksha yéshu sú-dhitâ—*r*ish*t*í*h*.

With whom the spear (lightning) rests well placed (*gut eingelegt*), i. e. the Maruts who hold the spear firmly, so that it seems to stick fast to them. (Sây. sa*m*gatâbhût.)

vi. 50, 5. mimyáksha yéshu rodasī́ nú devī́.

To whom the goddess Rodasî clings. (Sây. sa*m*ga*kkh*ate.)

vi. 11, 5. ámyakshi sádma sádane p*r*ithivyā́*h*.

The seat was firmly set on the seat of the earth. (Sây. gamyate, parig*r*ihyate). It is the 3rd pers. sing. aor. pass.

vi. 29, 2. ā́ yásmin háste náryâ*h* mimikshú*h* ā́ ráthe hira*n*yáye rathe-sthā́*h*, ā́ ra*s*máya*h* gábhastyo*h* sthûráyo*h* ā́ ádhvan á*s*vâsa*h* v*r*ísha*n*a*h* yu*g*ânā́*h*.

To whose hand men cling, in whose golden chariot the drivers stand firm, in whose strong fists the reins are well held, on whose path the harnessed stallions hold together. (Sây. âsi*k*yante, âpûryante; or âsiñ*k*anti, pûrayanti.)

x. 96, 3. índre ní rûpā́ háritâ mimikshire.

Bright colours stuck or clung or settled on Indra. (Sây. nishiktâni babhûvu*h*; mihe*h* sanantât karma*n*i rûpam.)

3. With instrumental:

i. 165, 1. káyâ *s*ubhā́ marúta*h* sám mimikshu*h*.

To what splendour do the Maruts cling; or, what splendour clings to them?

v. 58, 5. sváyâ matyā́ marúta*h* sám mimikshu*h*. (See also i. 165, 1.)

The Maruts cling to their own thought or will. (Sây. vrish*t*yâ samyak siñ*k*anti.)

i. 167, 4. yavyắ (i. e. yavîyắ) sâdhâra*n*yắ-iva marútа*h* mimikshu*h*.

A difficult passage which receives little light from i. 173, 12; viii. 98, 8; or vi. 27, 6.

i. 87, 6. bhânú-bhi*h* sám mimikshire.

The Maruts were joined with splendour. (Sây. me*dh*um i*kk*anti.)

4. With accusative:

viii. 61, 18. ní yắ vá*g*ram mimikshátu*h*.

Thy two arms which have firmly grasped the thunderbolt. (Sây. pari*g*rih*n*îta*h*.)

Here I should also prefer to place vii. 20, 4, if we might explain mímikshan as a participle present of myaksh in the Hu-class:

ní vá*g*ram índra*h* mímikshan.

Grasping firmly the thunderbolt. (Sây. *s*atrushu prâpayan.)

vi. 29, 3. *s*riyé te pắdâ dúva*h* ắ mimikshu*h*.

Thy servants embrace thy feet for their happiness. (Sây. âsiñ*k*anti, samarpayanti.)

Like other verbs which mean to join, myaksh, if accompanied by prepositions expressive of separation, means to separate. (Cf. vi-yukta, *se-junctus*.)

ii. 28, 6. ápo (íti) sú myaksha varu*n*a bhiyásam mát.

Remove well from me, O Varu*n*a, terror. (Sây. apagamaya.)

Quite distinct from this is the desiderative or inchoative verb mimiksh, from mih, in the sense of to sprinkle, or to shower, chiefly used with reference to the gods who are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with rain. Thus we read:

i. 142, 3. mádhvâ ya*g*ñám mimikshati.

(Narâ*s*a*m*sa) sprinkles the sacrifice with rain.

ix. 107, 6. mádhvâ ya*g*ñám mimiksha na*h*.

Sprinkle (O Soma) our sacrifice with rain.

i. 34, 3. trí*h* adyá ya*g*ñám mádhunâ mimikshatam.

O A*s*vins, sprinkle the sacrifice with rain thrice to-day!

i. 47, 4. mádhvâ ya*g*ñám mimikshatam.

O A*s*vins, sprinkle the sacrifice with rain!

5. Without mádhu:

i. 22, 13. mahî́ dyaúh prithivî́ ka nah imám yagñám mimikshatâm.

May the great heaven and earth sprinkle this our sacrifice.

6. With mádhu in the accusative:

vi. 70, 5. mádhu nah dyấvâprithivî́ (íti) mimikshatâm.

May heaven and earth shower down rain for us.

Very frequently the Asvins are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with their whip. This whip seems originally, like the whip of the Maruts, to have been intended for the cracking noise of the storm, preceding the rain. Then as whips had probably some similarity to the instruments used for sprinkling butter on the sacrificial viands, the Asvins are asked to sprinkle the sacrifice with their whip, i. e. to give rain:

i. 157, 4. mádhu-matyâ nah kásayâ mimikshatam.

O Asvins, sprinkle us with your rain-giving whip.

i. 22, 3. táyâ yagñám mimikshatam.

O Asvins, sprinkle the sacrifice with it (your whip).

7. Lastly, we find such phrases as,

i. 48, 16. sám nah râyấ—mimikshvá.

Sprinkle us with wealth, i. e. shower wealth down upon us. Here mih is really treated as a Hu-verb in the Âtmanepada.

As an adjective, mimikshú is applied to Indra (iii. 50, 3), and mimikshá to Soma (vi. 34, 4).

Verse 1, note [3]. I do not see how étâsah can here be taken in any sense but that suggested by the Pada, ấ-itâsah, come near. Professor Roth thinks it not impossible that it may be meant for étâh, the fallow deer, the usual team of the Maruts. These Etas are mentioned in verse 5, but there the Pada gives quite correctly étân, not ấ-itân, and Sâyana explains it accordingly by gantûn.

Verse 1, note [4]. The idea that the Maruts proclaim their own strength occurred before, i. 87, 3. It is a perfectly natural conception, for the louder the voice of the wind, the greater its strength.

Verse 2, note [1]. Mánas here, as elsewhere, is used in the sense of thought preceding speech, devotion not yet expressed in prayer. See Taitt. Sanh. v. 1, 3, 3. yat purusho manasâbhiga*kkh*ati tad vâ*k*â vadati, what a man grasps in his mind that he expresses by speech. Professor Roth suggests an emendation which is ingenious, but not necessary, viz. mahấ námasâ, with great adoration, an expression which occurs, if not in vi. 52, 17, at least in vii. 12, 1. We find, however, the phrase mahấ mánasâ in

vi. 40, 4. ấ yâhi *s*á*s*vat u*s*atấ yayâtha índra mahấ mánasâ soma-péyam,

úpa bráhmâ*n*i *s*ri*n*ava*h* imấ na*h* átha te ya*g*ñá*h* tanvè váya*h* dhât.

Come hither, thou hast always come, Indra, to our libation through our yearning great devotion. Mayest thou hear these our prayers, and may then the sacrifice place vigour in thy body.

It is curious to observe that throughout the Rig-veda the instrumental singular mahấ is always used as an adjective belonging to some term or other for praise and prayer. Besides the passages mentioned, we find:

ii. 24, 1. ayấ vidhema návayâ mahấ girấ.

Let us sacrifice with this new great song.

vi. 52, 17. su-ukténa mahấ námasâ ấ vivâse.

I worship with a hymn with great adoration, or I worship with a great hymn in adoration.

viii. 46, 14. gâya girấ mahấ ví-*k*etasam.

Celebrate the wise Indra with a great song.

Verse 3, note [1]. We ought to scan kuta*h* tvam indra mâhina*h* san, because yâsi, being anudâtta, could not begin a new pâda. It would be more natural to translate kúta*h* by why? for the Maruts evidently wish to express their surprise at Indra's going to do battle alone and without their assistance. I do not think, however, that in the Rig-veda, even in the latest hymns, kúta*h* has ever a causal meaning, and I have therefore translated it in the same sense in which it occurs before in the poet's address to the Maruts.

Verse 3, note [2]. Sat-pati, lord of men, means lord of real men, of heroes, and should not be translated by good lord. Sat by itself is frequently used in the sense of heroes, of men physically rather than morally good:

ii. 1, 3. tvám agne índrah vrishabháh satẫm asi.

Thou, Agni, art Indra, the hero among heroes.

i. 173, 7. samát-su tvâ sûra satẫm urânấm.

Thee, O hero, in battles the protector of (good and true) men.

Verse 3, note [3]. The meaning of sám prikkhase is very much the same as that of sám vadasva in i. 170, 5.

Verse 3, note [4]. Subhâná evidently is meant as a name for the Maruts, who thus speak of themselves in the third person. This is by no means unusual in the Rig-veda; see, for instance,

i. 170, 2. tébhih kalpasva sâdhu-yẫ mẫ nah sam-árane vadhîh.

Be thou good with these (with us, the Maruts), do not kill us in battle!

Verse 4. Indra certainly addresses his old friends, the Maruts, very unceremoniously, but this, though at first startling, was evidently the intention of the poet. He wished to represent a squabble between Indra and the Maruts, such as they were familiar with in their own village life, and this was to be followed by a reconciliation. The boorish rudeness, selfishness, and boastfulness here ascribed to Indra may seem offensive to those who cannot divest themselves of the modern meaning of deities, but looked upon from the right point of view, it is really full of interest.

Verse 4, note [1]. Bráhmâni and matáyah are here mentioned separately in the same way as a distinction is made between bráhman, stóma, and ukthá, iv. 22, 1; vi. 23, 1; between bráhmâni and gírah, iii. 51, 6; between bráhma, gírah, and stómah, vi. 38, 3; between bráhma, gírah, ukthẫ, and mánma, vi. 38, 4, &c.

Verse 4, note [2]. *S*ám, which I have here translated by sweet, is a difficult word to render. It is used as a substantive, as an adjective, and as an adverb; and in several instances it must remain doubtful whether it was meant for one or the other. The adverbial character is almost always, if not always, applicable, though in English there is no adverb of such general import as *s*ám, and we must therefore render it differently, although we are able to perceive that in the mind of the poet it might still have been conceived as an adverb, in the sense of 'well.' I shall arrange the principal passages in which *s*ám occurs according to the verbs with which it is construed.

1. With bhû:

viii. 79, 7. bháva na*h* soma *s*ám h*r*idé.

Be thou, Soma, well (pleasant) to our heart. Cf. viii. 82, 3.

viii. 48, 4. *s*ám na*h* bhava h*r*idé â pîtá*h* indo (íti).

Be thou well (sweet) to our heart, when drunk, O Soma! Cf. x. 9, 4.

i. 90, 9. *s*ám na*h* bhavatu aryamấ.

May Aryaman be well (kind) to us!

vi. 74, 1. *s*ám na*h* bhûtam dvi-páde *s*ám *k*átu*h*-pade.

May Soma and Rudra be well (kind) to *our* men and cattle.

Here *s*ám might be rendered as an adverb, or as an adjective, or even as a substantive, in the sense of health or blessing.

Cf. vii. 54, 1; ix. 69, 7. The expression dvipád and *k*átu*h*-pad is curiously like what occurs in the prayers of the Eugubian tables, Fisovie San*s*ie, ditu ocre Fisi, tote Jovine, ocrer Fisie, totar Jovinar *dupursus*, *peturpursus* fato fito, (Umbrische Sprachdenkmäler, von Aufrecht, p. 198.)

ii. 38, 11. *s*ám yát stot*r*í-bhya*h* âpáye bhávâti.

What may be well (a pleasure) for the praisers, for the friend.

x. 37, 10. *s*ám na*h* bhava *k*ákshasâ.

Be kind to us with thy light!

2. With as.

viii. 17, 6. sóma*h* *s*ám astu te h*r*idé.

May the Soma be well (agreeable) to thy heart!

i. 5, 7. *s*ám te santu prá-*k*etase.

May the Somas be well (pleasing) to thee, the wise!

v. 11, 5. túbhyam manîshấ iyám astu *s*ám hr*i*dé.
May this prayer be well (acceptable) to thy heart!
i. 114, 1. yáthâ *s*ám ásat dvi-páde *k*átu*h*-pade.
That it may be well for our men and cattle. Cf. x. 165, 1; 3.
vii. 86, 8. *s*ám na*h* kshéme *s*ám ûm (íti) yóge na*h* astu.
May it be well with us in keeping and acquiring!
v. 7, 9. ấ yá*h* te—agne *s*ám ásti dhấyase.
He who is lief to thee to support, i. e. he whom thou likest to support.
v. 74, 9. *s*ám ûm (íti) sú vâm—asmấkam astu *k*arkr*i*tí*h*.
Let there be happiness to you—glory to us!

3. With as or bhû understood:
vi. 45, 22. *s*ám yát gáve ná *s*âkíne.
A song which is pleasant to the mighty Indra, as food to an ox.
viii. 13, 11. *s*ám ít hí te.
For it is well for thee.
x. 86, 15. manthá*h* te indra *s*ám hr*i*dé.
The mixture is pleasant to thy heart, O Indra!
x. 97, 18. áram kấmâya, *s*ám hr*i*dé.
Enough for love, pleasant to the heart.
vi. 34, 3. *s*ám tát asmai.
That is pleasant to him.
vi. 21, 4. ká*h* te ya*g*ñá*h* mánase *s*ám várâya.
What sacrifice seems to thy mind pleasant to select?

4. With kar:
i. 43, 6. *s*ám na*h* karati árvate.
May he do well to our horse, i. e. may he benefit our horses.
iv. 1, 3. tokấya tu*g*é—*s*ám kr*i*dhi.
Do good to our children and progeny, or bless us for the procreation of children.
viii. 18, 8. *s*ám na*h* karata*h* a*s*vínâ.
May the two A*s*vins do us good!

5. With vah:
i. 157, 3. *s*ám na*h* ấ vakshat dvi-páde *k*átu*h*-pade.
May he bring blessing to us for man and cattle.
viii. 5, 20. téna na*h*—pá*s*ve tokấya *s*ám gáve, váhatam pī́varî*h* ísha*h*.

Bring to us rich food, a blessing to cattle, to children, and to the ox.

6. With other verbs, such as pû, vâ, and others, where it is clearly used as an adverb:

ix. 11, 3. sá*h* na*h* pavasva *s*ám gáve *s*ám *g*ánâya *s*ám árvate, *s*ám râ*g*an óshadhîbhya*h*.

Do thou, king Soma, stream upon us, a blessing for the ox, a blessing for man, a blessing for the horse, a blessing for the plants. Cf. ix. 11, 7; 60, 4; 61, 15; 109, 5.

vii. 35, 4. *s*ám na*h* ishirá*h* abhí vâtu vấta*h*.

May the brisk wind blow kindly upon us, or blow a blessing upon us.

vii. 35, 6. *s*ám na*h* tvásh*t*â gnấbhi*h* ihá *s*ri*n*otu.

May Tvash*t*ar with the goddesses hear us here well, i. e. auspiciously!

vii. 35, 8. *s*ám na*h* sấrya*h*—út etu.

May the sun rise auspiciously for us!

viii. 18, 9. *s*ám na*h* tapatu sấrya*h*.

May the sun warm us well!

iii. 13, 6. *s*ám na*h* *s*o*k*a—ágne.

Shine well for us, O Agni!

*S*ám also occurs in a phrase that has puzzled the interpreters of the Veda very much, viz. *s*ám yó*h*. These are two words, and must both be taken as substantives, though originally they may have been adverbs. Their meaning seems to have been much the same, and in English they may safely be rendered by health and wealth, in the old acceptation of these words:

i. 93, 7. dhattam yá*g*amânâya *s*ám yó*h*.

Give, Agni and Soma, to the sacrificer health and wealth.

i. 106, 5. *s*ám yó*h* yát te mánu*h*-hitam tát îmahe.

B*r*ihaspati, we ask for health and wealth which thou gavest to Manu.

i. 114, 2. yát *s*ám *k*a yó*h* *k*a mánu*h* â-ye*g*é pitấ tát a*s*yâma táva rudra prá-nîtishu.

Rudra, the health and wealth which Manu, the father, obtained, may we reach it under thy guidance.

ii. 33, 13. yấni mánu*h* ávri*n*îta pitấ na*h* tấ *s*ám *k*a yó*h* *k*a rudrásya va*s*mi.

The medicines which our father Manu chose, those I desire, the health and wealth of Rudra.

i. 189, 2. bháva tokā́ya tánayâya *s*ám yó*h*.

Be to our offspring health and wealth!

iv. 12, 5. yá*kk*h*a tokā́ya tánayâya *s*ám yó*h*.

Give to our offspring health and wealth!

v. 69, 3. ī́*l*e tokā́ya tánayâya *s*ám yó*h*.

I ask for our offspring health and wealth.

vi. 50, 7. dhā́ta tokā́ya tánayâya *s*ám yó*h*.

Give to our offspring health and wealth!

x. 182, 1. átha karat yá*g*amânâya *s*ám yó*h*.

May he then produce for the sacrificer health and wealth.

vii. 69, 5. téna na*h* *s*ám yó*h*—ní a*s*vinâ vahatam.

On that chariot bring to us, A*s*vins, health and wealth.

iii. 17, 3. átha bhava yá*g*amânâya *s*ám yó*h*.

Then, Agni, be health and wealth to the sacrificer.

iii. 18, 4. b*r*ihát váya*h* *s*a*s*amânéshu dhehi, revát agne vi*s*vā́mitreshu *s*ám yó*h*.

Give, Agni, much food to those who praise thee, give to the Vi*s*vâmitras richly health and wealth.

x. 15, 4. átha na*h* *s*ám yó*h* arapá*h* dadhâta.

And give us health and wealth without a flaw! Cf. x. 59, 8.

x. 37, 11. tát asmé *s*ám yó*h* arapá*h* dadhâtana.

And give to us health and wealth without a flaw!

v. 47, 7. tát astu mitra-varu*n*â tát agne *s*ám yó*h* asmábhyam idám astu *s*astám.

Let this, O Mitra-Varu*n*a, let this, O Agni, be health and wealth to us; may this be auspicious!

v. 53, 14. v*r*ish*t*vī́ *s*ám yó*h* ā́pa*h* usrí bhesha*g*ám syā́ma maruta*h* sahá.

Let us be together, O Maruts, after health, wealth, water, and medicine have been showered down in the morning.

viii. 39, 4. *s*ám *k*a yó*h* *k*a máya*h* dadhe.

He gave health, wealth, and happiness.

viii. 71, 15. agním *s*ám yó*h* *k*a dā́tave.

We ask Agni to give us health and wealth.

x. 9, 4. *s*ám yó*h* abhí sravantu na*h*.

May the waters bring to us health and wealth, or may they run towards us auspiciously.

Verse 4, note [3]. If we retain the reading of the MSS. *s*úshma*h* iyarti, we must take it as an independent phrase, and translate it by 'my strength rises.' For *s*úshma, though in this and other places it is frequently explained as an adjective, meaning powerful, is, as far as I can see, always a substantive, and means power, strength. There may be a few passages in which, as there occur several words for strength, it might be possible to translate *s*úshma by strong. But even there it is better to keep to the general meaning of *s*úshma, and translate it as a substantive.

Iyarti means to rise and to raise. It is particularly applied to prayers raised by the poet in honour of the gods, and the similes used in connection with this, show clearly what the action implied by iyarti really is. For instance,

i. 116, 1. stómân iyarmi abhríyâ-iva vā̆ta*h*.

I stir up hymns as the wind stirs the clouds.

x. 116, 9. su-va*k*asyā̆m iyarmi síndhau-iva prá îrayam nā̆vam.

I stir up sweet praise, as if rowing a ship on the river.

In the sense of rising it occurs,

x. 140, 2. pâvaká-var*k*â*h* *s*ukrá-var*k*â*h* ánûna-var*k*â*h* út iyarshi bhânúnâ.

Thou risest up with splendour, Agni, thou of bright, resplendent, undiminished majesty.

We might therefore safely translate in our verse 'my strength rises,' although it is true that such a phrase does not occur again, and that in other passages where iyarti and *s*úshma occur together, the former governs the latter in the accusative. Cf. iv. 17, 12; x. 75, 3.

Verse 5, note [1]. If, as we can hardly avoid, we ascribe this verse to the Maruts, we must recognize in it the usual offer of help to Indra on the part of the Maruts. The question then only is, who are the strong friends in whose company they appear? It would be well if one could render antamébhi*h* by horses, as Sâya*n*a does, but there is no authority for it. Svá-kshatra is an adjective, meaning endowed with independent strength, synonymous with svá-tavas, i. 166, 2. It is applied to the mind of Indra, i. 54, 3; v. 35, 4; to the Maruts, v. 48, 1, but never to

horses. As it stands, we can only suppose that a distinction is made between the Maruts and their followers, and that after calling together their followers, and adorning themselves for battle, they proceed to harness their chariots. Cf. i. 107, 2.

Verse 5, note [2]. Étân, in all MSS. which I consulted, has here the accent on the first syllable, and Professor Aufrecht ought not to have altered the word into etấn. If the accent had not been preserved by the tradition of the schools, the later interpreters would certainly have taken etân for the demonstrative pronoun. As it is, in spite of accent and termination, Sâyana in i. 166, 10, seems to take étâh for eté. In other passages, however, Sâyana, too, has perceived the difference, and in i. 169, 6, he explains the word very fully as prishadvarnâ gantâro vâ asvâ vâ. In this passage the Etas are clearly the deer of the Maruts, the Prishatîs:

i. 169, 6. ádha yát eshâm prithu-budhnấsah étâh.

In the next verse, however, éta seems applied to the Maruts themselves:

i. 169, 7. práti ghorấnâm étânâm ayấsâm marútâm srinve â-yatấm upabdíh.

The shout of the terrible, speckled, indefatigable Maruts is heard, as they approach; unless we translate:

The noise of the terrible deer of the indefatigable Maruts is heard, as they approach.

In i. 166, 10, ámseshu étâh, I adopt Professor Roth's conjecture, that étâh means the skins of the fallow deer, so that we should have to translate: On their shoulders are the deer-skins.

In the other passages where éta occurs, it is used as a simile only, and therefore throws no light on the relation of the Etas to the Maruts. In both passages, however (v. 54, 5; x. 77, 2), the simile refers to the Maruts, though to their speed only, and not to their colour.

Verse 5, note [3]. Máhah-bhih, which I have translated 'with all our might,' seems to be used almost as an adverb, mightily or quickly (makshu), although the original meaning, with our powers, through our might, is likewise applicable. The original meaning is quite perceptible in passages like

v. 62, 3. ádhârayatam prithivî́m utá dyấm mítra-râgânâ varunâ máhah-bhih.

Kings Mitra and Varuna, you have supported heaven and earth by your powers.

vii. 3, 7. tébhih nah agne ámitaih máhah-bhih satám pûr-bhíh ấyasîbhih ní pâhi.

With those immeasurable powers, O Agni, protect us, with a hundred iron strongholds.

i. 90, 2. té—máhah-bhih, vratấ rakshante visvấhâ.

They always protect the laws by their powers.

vii. 71, 1. tvám nah agne máhah-bhih pâhí.

Protect us, Agni, with thy power.

In other passages, however, we see máhah-bhih used of the light or of the flames of Agni and of the dawn:

iv. 14, 1. deváh rókamânah máhah-bhih.

Agni, the god, brilliant with his powers.

vi. 64, 2. devi rókamânâ máhah-bhih.

O goddess, brilliant with thy powers.

The powers of the Maruts are referred to by the same name in the following passages:

v. 58, 5. prá-pra gâyante—máhah-bhih.

The Maruts are born with their powers.

vii. 58, 2. prá yé máhah-bhih ógasâ utá sánti.

The Maruts who excel in power and strength. Cf. iii. 4, 6.

Verse 6, note [1]. Indra in this dialogue is evidently represented as claiming everything for himself alone. He affects contempt for the help proffered by the Maruts, and seems to deny that he was at any time beholden to their assistance. By asking, Where was that custom of yours that you should join me in battle? he implies that it never was their custom before, and that he can dispense with their succour now. He wants to be alone in his battle with Ahi, and does not wish that they should join him: (cf. i. 33, 4.) Professor Roth takes sam-ádhatta in the sense of implicating, but it can hardly be said that the Maruts ever implicated Indra in his fight against Ahi. Certainly this is not in keeping with the general tenor of this dialogue, where, on the contrary, Indra shuns the company of the Maruts. But while on

this point I differ from Professor Roth, I think he has rightly interpreted the meaning of ánamam. Out of the four passages in which badha-snaíh occurs, it is three times joined with nam, and every time has the sense of to bend away from, to escape from. See also Sonne, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xii. p. 348.

Verse 7, note [1]. See vii. 39, 6. sakshîmáhi yúgyebhih nú devaíh.

Verse 7, note [2]. The last words leave no doubt as to their meaning, for the phrase is one of frequent occurrence. The only difficulty is the vocative marutah, where we should expect the nominative. It is quite possible, however, that the Maruts should here address themselves, though, no doubt, it would be easy to alter the accent. As to the phrase itself, see

viii. 61, 4. táthâ ít asat índra krátvâ yáthâ vásah.

May it be so, O Indra, as thou desirest by thy mind.

viii. 66, 4. vagrî́—ít karat índrah krátvâ yáthâ vásat.

May Indra with the thunderbolt act as he desires in his mind. Cf. viii. 20, 17; 28, 4, &c.

Verse 8, note [1]. Here again Indra claims everything for himself, denying that the Maruts in any way assisted him while performing his great deeds. These deeds are the killing of Vritra, who withholds the waters, i. e. the rain from the earth, and the consequent liberation of the waters so that they flow down freely for the benefit of Manu, that is, of man.

When Indra says that he slew Vritra indriyéna, he evidently chooses that word with a purpose, and we must therefore translate it, not only by might, but by Indra's peculiar might. Indriyá, as derived from índra, means originally Indra-hood, then power in general, just as verethraghna in Zend means victory in general, though originally it meant the slaying of Vritra.

Verse 9, note [1]. Devátâ in the ordinary sense of a deity never occurs in the Rig-veda. The word, in fact, as a

feminine substantive occurs but twice, and in the tenth Ma*nd*ala only. But even there it does not mean deity. In x. 24, 6, devâ*h* devátayâ means, O gods, by your godhead, i. e. by your divine power. In x. 98, 1, b*r*íhaspate práti me devátâm ihi, I take devátâ in the same sense as devátâti, and translate, O B*r*ihaspati, come to my sacrifice.

In all other places where devátâ occurs in the Rig-veda it is a local adverb, and means among the gods. I shall only quote those passages in which Professor Roth assigns to devátâ a different meaning:

i. 55, 3. prá vîryḗ*n*a devátâ áti *k*ekite.

He is pre-eminent among the gods by his strength.

i. 22, 5. sá*h* *k*éttâ devátâ padám.

He knows the place among the gods.

i. 100, 15. ná yásya devā́*h* devátâ ná mártâ*h* ā́pa*h* *k*aná *s*ávasa*h* ántam âpú*h*.

He, the end of whose power neither the gods among the gods, nor mortals, nor even the waters have reached.

Here the translation of devátâ in the sense of 'by their godhead,' would be equally applicable, yet nothing would be gained as, in either case, devátâ is a weak repetition.

vi. 4, 7. índram ná tvâ *s*ávasâ devátâ vâyúm p*r*i*n*anti rā́dhasâ n*r*í-tamâ*h*.

The best among men celebrate thee, O Agni, as like unto Indra in strength among the gods, as like unto Vâyu in liberality.

Verse 9, note [2]. The juxta-position of *g*ā́yamâna*h* and *g*âtá*h* would seem to show that, if the latter had a past, the former had a future meaning. To us, 'No one who will be born and no one who has been born,' would certainly sound more natural. The Hindu, however, is familiar with the idea as here expressed, and in order to comprehend all beings, he speaks of those who are born and those who are being born. Thus in a Pada*s*ish*t*a of the Pâvamânîs (ix. 67) we read:

> yan me garbhe vasata*h* pâpam ugram,
> ya*g* *g*âyamânasya *k*a ki*mk*id anyat,
> *g*âtasya *k*a ya*k* *k*âpi vardhato me,
> tat pâvamânîbhir aham punâmi.

Verse 9, note [3]. Karishyấ is written in all the MSS. without a Visarga, and unless we add the Visarga on our own authority, we should have to take it as an accusative plur. neut. of a passive participle of the future, karishyám standing for kâryấm, *faciendum*. It would be much easier, however, to explain this form if we added the Visarga, and read karishyấ*h*, which would then be a second person singular of a Vedic conjunctive of the future. This form occurs at least once more in the Veda:

iv. 30, 23. utá nûnám yát indriyám karishyấ*h* indra paú*m*syam, adyá náki*h* tát ấ minat.

O Indra, let no man destroy to-day whatever manly feat thou art now going to achieve.

Verse 10, note [1]. As I have translated these words, they sound rather abrupt. The meaning, however, would be clear enough, viz. almighty power belongs to me, therefore I can dare and do. If this abrupt expression should offend, it may be avoided, by taking the participle dadh*r*ishvấn as a finite verb, and translating, Whatever I have been daring, I shall do according to my will.

Verse 11, note [1]. In this verse Indra, after having declined with no uncertain sound the friendship of the Maruts, repents himself of his unkindness towards his old friends. The words of praise which they addressed to him in verse 9, in spite of the rebuff they had received from Indra, have touched his heart, and we may suppose that after this, their reconciliation was complete. The words of Indra are clear enough, the only difficulty occurs in the last words, which are so idiomatic that it is impossible to render them in English. In tanvẽ tanū̃bhî*h*, literally for the body by the bodies, tanû is used like the pronoun self. Both must therefore refer to the same subject. We cannot translate 'for myself made by yourselves,' but must take the two words together, so that they should mean, 'the hymn which you have made for your own sake, freely, and by your own exertions, honestly.'

Verse 13, note [1]. I translate api-vâtáyanta*h* by cherishing, a meaning equally applicable to i. 128, 2, and x. 25, 1.

I suppose the original meaning was really to blow upon a person, to cool or refresh a person by a draught of air, which, in countries like India, was and is the office of the attendants of a prince. It would then take the meaning of honouring, worshipping or cherishing, though I confess the hymns of the Veda seem almost too early for such a courtly metaphor.

Verse 14, note [1]. This is a verse which, without some conjectural alterations, it seems impossible to translate. Sâya*n*a, of course, has a translation ready for it, so has M. Langlois, but both of them offend against the simplest rules of grammar and logic. The first question is, who is meant by asmā̂n (which is here used as an amphimacer), the sacrificers or the Maruts? The verb ā̂ *k*akré would well apply to the medhā̂ mânyásya, the hymn of Mânya, which is intended to bring the Maruts to the sacrifice, this bringing to the sacrifice being the very meaning of â kar. But then we have the vocative maruta*h* in the next line, and even if we changed the vocative into the accusative, we should not gain much, as the Maruts could hardly call upon anybody to turn them towards the sage.

If, on the contrary, we admit that asmā̂n refers to those who offer the sacrifice, then we must make a distinction, which, it is true, is not an unusual one, between those who here speak of themselves in the first person, and who provide the sacrifice, and the poet Mândârya Mânya, who was employed by them to compose or to recite this hymn.

But even if we adopt this alternative, many difficulties still remain. First of all, we have to change the accent of *k*akré into *k*akre, which may seem a slight change, but is not the less objectionable when we consider that in our emendations of the Vedic hymns we must think rather of accidents that might happen in oral traditions than of the *lapsus calami* of later scribes. Secondly, we must suppose that the hymn of Mândârya Mânya ends with verse 13, and that the last verses were supplied by the sacrificers themselves. Possibly the dialogue only, from verse 3 to verse 12, was the work of Mânya, and the rest added at some solemn occasion.

Other difficulties, however, remain. Duvasyâ̆t is taken by Sâya*n*a as an ablative of duvasyá, worthy of dúvas, i. e. of worship, of sacrifice. Unfortunately this duvasyá does not occur again, though it would be formed quite regularly, like namasyá, worthy of worship, from námas, worship.

If we take duvasyâ̆t as the 3rd pers. sing. of the present in the Vedic conjunctive, we must also confess that this conjunctive does not occur again. But the verb duvasyati occurs frequently. It seems to have two meanings. It is derived from dúvas, which in the Vedic language means worship or sacrifice, just as karma, work, has assumed the special sense of sacrifice. Derived from dúvas in this sense, duvasyati means to worship. But dúvas meant originally any *opus operatum*. The root from which dúvas is derived, is lost in Sanskrit, but it exists in other languages. It must have been *du* or *dû* in the sense of acting, or sedulously working. It exists in Zend as *du*, to do, in Gothic as *táujan*, *gataujan*, Old High German *zawjan*, Modern German *zauen* (Grimm, Gram. i². p. 1041). The Gothic *tavi*, opus, Old High German *zouwi*, Middle High German *gezöuwe* (Grimm, Gram. iii. p. 499), come from the same source; and it is possible, too, that the Old Norse *töfrar*, incantamenta, the Old High German *zoupar*, Middle High German *zouber*, both neuter, and the modern *Zauber*, may find their explanation in the Sanskrit dúvas. Derived from dúvas, in the sense of work, we have duvasyati in the sense of helping, providing, the German *schaffen* and *verschaffen*.

In the sense of worshipping, duvasyati occurs,

iii. 2, 8. duvasyáta—*g*âtá-vedasam.

Worship *G*âtavedas.

v. 28, 6. â̆ *g*uhota duvasyáta agním.

Invoke, worship Agni. Cf. iii. 13, 3; 1, 13.

iii. 3, 1. agní*h* hí devâ̆n—duvasyáti.

Agni performs the worship of the gods. Cf. vii. 82, 5.

i. 167, 6. sutá-soma*h* duvasyán.

He who has poured out Soma and worships.

In many passages duvasyati is joined with an instrumental:

v. 42, 11. námah-bhih devám—duvasya.
Worship the god with praises.
i. 78, 2. tám u tvâ gótamah girấ—duvasyati.
Gotama worships thee with a song.
v. 49, 2. su-uktaíh devám—duvasya.
Worship the god with hymns.
vi. 16, 46. vîtî́ yáh devám—duvasyét.
He who worships the god with food.
x. 14, 1. yamám—havíshâ duvasya.
Worship Yama with an oblation.
vi. 15, 6. agním-agnim vah samídhâ duvasyata.
Worship Agni with your log of wood. Cf. viii. 44, 1.
iii. 1, 2. samít-bhih agním námasâ duvasyan.
They worshipped Agni with logs of wood, with praise.

In the more general and, I suppose, more original sense of caring for, attending, we find duvasyati:
iii. 51, 3. anehásah stúbhah índrah duvasyati.
Indra provides for the matchless worshippers.
i. 112, 15. kalím yấbhih—duvasyáthah.
By the succours with which you help Kali. Cf. i. 112, 21.
i. 62, 10. duvasyánti svásârah áhrayânam.
The sisters attend the proud (Agni).
i. 119, 10. yuvám pedáve—svetám—duvasyathah.
You provide for Pedu the white horse.

If, then, we take duvasyati in the sense of working for, assisting, it may be with the special sense of assisting at a sacred act, like διακονεῖν; and if we take duvás, as it has the accent on the last syllable, as the performer of sacrifice, we may venture to translate, 'that he should help, as the singer helps the performer of the sacrifice *.' The singer or the poet may be called the assistant at a sacrifice, for his presence was not necessary at all sacrifices, the songs constituting an ornament rather than an essential in most sacred acts. But though I think it right to offer this conjectural interpretation, I am far from supposing that it gives us the real sense of this difficult verse. Duvasyất may be, as Sâyana suggests, an ablative of duvasyá; and

* Kar in the sense of officiating at a sacrifice is equally construed with a dative, x. 97, 22. yásmai krinóti brâhmanáh, he for whom a Brâhmana performs a sacrifice.

duvasyá, like namasyã, if we change the accent, may mean he who is to be worshipped, or worshipping. In this way a different interpretation might suggest itself, in which the words duvasyất duváse could be taken to mean 'from one worshipper to another.' Some happy thought may some day or other clear up this difficulty, when those who have toiled, but toiled in a wrong direction, will receive scant thanks for the trouble they have taken.

In the second line, the words ó sú varta remind one of similar phrases in the Veda, but we want an accusative, governed by varta; whereas marutah, to judge from its accent, can only be a vocative. Thus we read:

i. 138, 4. ó (íti) sú tvâ vavritîmahi stómebhih.
May we turn thee quickly hither by our praises!
viii. 7, 33. ó (íti) sú vríshnah—vavrityẫm.
May I turn the heroes quickly hither!
Compare also passages like iii. 33, 8:
ó (íti) sú svasârah kârâve srinota.
Listen quickly, O sisters, to the poet.
i. 139, 7. ó (íti) sú nah agne srinuhi.
Hear us quickly, O Agni.
Cf. i. 182, 1; ii. 34, 15; vii. 59, 5; viii. 2, 19; x. 179, 2.

Unless we change the accent, we must translate, 'Bring hither quickly!' and we must take these words as addressed to the kârú, the poet, whose hymn is supposed to attract the gods to the sacrifice. By a quick transition, the next words, marutah vípram ákkha, would then have to be taken as addressed to the gods, 'Maruts, on to the sage!' and the last words would become intelligible by laying stress on the vah, 'for you, and not for Indra or any other god, has the singer recited these hymns.'

Verse 15, note [1]. I translate Mânya, the son of Mâna, because the poet, so called in i. 189, 8, is in all probability the same as our Mândârya Mânya.

Verse 15, note [2]. The second line is difficult, owing to the uncertain meaning of vayẫm. First of all, it might seem as if the two hemistichs must be kept distinct, because the second is so often used independently of the first.

There are passages, however, where this very hemistich carries on the sentence of a preceding hemistich, as, for instance, i. 177, 5; 182, 8. We may therefore join tanvẽ vayā̃m with the following words, and it certainly seems more difficult to elicit any sense if we join them with the preceding words.

Ā̃ ishā̃ * yâsîsh*t*a might be rendered, 'Come hither with water or drink or rain,' yâsîsh*t*a being the aorist without the augment and with the intermediate vowel lengthened. The indicative occurs in

v. 58, 6. yát prá áyâsish*t*a prí*s*hatîbhi*h* á*s*vai*h*.

When you Maruts come forth with your fallow deer and your horses.

But what is the meaning of vayā̃m? Vayā̃ means a germ, a sprout, an offshoot, a branch, as may be seen from the following passages:

ii. 5, 4. vidvā̃n asya vratā̃ dhruvā̃ vayā̃*h*-iva ánu rohate.

He who knows his eternal laws, springs up like young sprouts.

vi. 7, 6. tásya ít û*m* (íti) ví*s*vâ bhúvanâ ádhi mûrdháni vayā̃*h*-iva ruruhu*h*.

From above the head of Vai*s*vanara all worlds have grown, like young sprouts.

viii. 13, 6. stotā̃—vayā̃*h*-iva ánu rohate.

The worshipper grows up like young sprouts.

viii. 13, 17. índram kshonī̃*h* avardhayan vayā̃*h*-iva.

The people made Indra to grow like young sprouts.

viii. 19, 33. yásya te agne anyé agnáya*h* upa-kshíta*h* vayā̃*h*-iva.

Agni, of whom the other fires are like parasitical shoots.

i. 59, 1. vayā̃*h* ít agne agnáya*h* te anyé.

O Agni, the other fires are indeed offshoots of thee.

ii. 35, 8. vayā̃*h* ít anyā̃ bhúvanâni asya.

The other worlds are indeed his (the rising sun's) offshoots.

vi. 13, 1. tvát ví*s*vâ—saúbhagâni ágne ví yanti vanína*h* ná vayā̃*h*.

From thee, O Agni, spring all happinesses, as the sprouts of a tree.

---

* There was a misprint in the Sanhitā text, eshā̃ instead of éshā̃, which was afterwards repeated whenever the same verse occurred again.

vi. 24, 3. vrikshásya nú (ná?) te—vayã́h ví ûtáyah ruruhuh.

Succours sprang from thee, like the branches of a tree.

v. 1, 1. yahvã́h-iva prá vayã́m ut-gíhânâh prá bhânávah sisrate nã́kam ákkha.

Like birds (?) flying up to a branch, the flames of Agni went up to heaven.

vi. 57, 5. tã́m pûshnáh su-matím vayã́m vrikshásya prá vayã́m-iva índrasya ka ã́ rabhâmahe.

Let us reach this favour of Pûshan and of Indra, as one reaches forth to the branch of a tree.

There remain some doubtful passages in which vayã́ occurs, vii. 40, 5, and x. 92, 3; 134, 6. In the first passage, as in our own, vayã́h is trisyllabic.

If vayã́ can be used in the sense of offshoot or sprout, we may conclude that the same word, used in the singular, might mean offspring, particularly when joined with tanvẽ. 'Give a branch to our body,' would be understood even in languages less metaphorical than that of the Vedas; and as the prayer for 'olive branches' is a constant theme of the Vedic poets, the very absence of that prayer here, might justify us in assigning this sense to vayã́m. In vi. 2, 5, the expression vayã́vantam ksháyam, a house with branches, means the same as nrivántam, a house with children and men. See M. M., On Βίος and váyas, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. xv. p. 215.

If the third pâda is to be kept as an independent sentence, we must take yâsîshta as the third pers. sing. of the benedictive, and refer it to stómah or gĩ́h. Grammatically this may seem preferable, and I have given this alternative translation in the next hymn, where the same verse occurs again.

Verse 15, note [3]. Vrigána means an enclosure, a νομός, whether it be derived from vrig, to ward off, like *arx* from *arcere*, or from vrig, in the sense of clearing, as in vriktabarhis, barhíh prá vriñge, i. 116, 1. In either case the meaning remains much the same, viz. a field, cleared for pasture or agriculture,—a clearing, as it is called in America, or a camp,—enclosed with hurdles or walls, so as to be capable of defence against wild animals or against enemies. Other meanings of vrigána will be discussed in other places.

Mandala I, Sûkta 166.
Ashtaka II, Adhyâya 4, Varga 1–3.

1. Tát nú vo*k*âma rabhasấya *g*ánmane pû́rvam mahi-tvám *v*rishabhásya ketáve, aidhấ-iva yấman maruta*h* tuvi-*s*vana*h* yudhấ-iva *s*akrâ*h* tavishấ*n*i kartana.

2. Nítyam ná sûnúm mádhu bíbhrata*h* úpa krî́*l*anti krî́*l*ấ*h* vidátheshu gh*r*íshvaya*h*, nákshanti rudrấ*h* ávasâ namasvínam ná mardhanti svá-tavasa*h* havi*h*-k*r*ítam.

3. Yásmai û́mâsa*h* am*r*ítâ*h* árâsata râyá*h* póshami *k*a havíshâ dadâ*s*úshe, ukshánti asmai marúta*h* hitấ*h*-iva purú rá*g*â*m*si páyasâ maya*h*-bhúva*h*.

4. Ấ yé rá*g*â*m*si távishîbhi*h* ávyata prá va*h* évâsa*h* svá-yatâsa*h* adhra*g*an, bháyante ví*s*vâ bhúvanâni harmyấ *k*itrá*h* va*h* yấma*h* prá-yatâsu *r*isht*í*shu.

5. Yát tveshá-yâmấ*h* nadáyanta párvatân divá*h* vâ p*r*isht*h*ám náryâ * á*k*u*k*yavu*h*, ví*s*va*h* va*h* á*g*man bhayate vánaspáti*h* rathiyántî-iva prá *g*ihîte ósha-dhi*h*.

6. Yûyám na*h* ugrấ*h* maruta*h* su-*k*etúnâ árish*t*a-grâmấ*h* su-matím pipartana, yátra va*h* didyút rádati krívi*h*-datî ri*n*ấti pa*s*vá*h* súdhitâ-iva barhá*n*â.

---

* náryâ*h*

Hymn to the Maruts (the Storm-gods).

1. Let us now proclaim for the robust[1] host, for the herald[2] of the powerful (Indra), their ancient greatness! O ye strong-voiced Maruts, you heroes, show your powers on your way as with a torch, as with a sword![3]

2. Like parents bringing sweet to[1] their own[2] son, the wild (Maruts) play playfully at the sacrifices. The Rudras reach the worshipper with their protection, powerful by themselves, they do not hurt the sacrificer.

3. For the giver of oblations, for him to whom the immortal guardians, too, have given plenty of riches, the Maruts, who gladden men with the milk (of rain), pour out, like friends, many clouds.

4. You who have stirred[1] up the clouds with might, your horses rushed[2] forth, self-guided. All beings who dwell in houses[3] are afraid of you, your coming is brilliant with your spears thrust forth.

5. When they whose path is fiery have caused the rocks to tremble,[1] or when the manly Maruts have shaken the back of the sky, then every lord of the forest fears at your racing, the shrubs get out of your way,[2] quick like chariots.[3]

6. You, O terrible Maruts, whose ranks are never broken, favourably[1] fulfil our prayer![2] Wherever your gory-toothed[3] lightning bites,[4] it crunches[5] all living beings, like a well-aimed bolt.[6]

7. Prá skambhá-deshnâh anavabhrá-râdhasah alâtrinâsah vidátheshu sú-stutâh, árkanti arkám madirásya pîtáye vidúh vîrásya prathamâni paúmsyâ.

8. Satábhugi-bhih tám abhí-hruteh aghât pûh-bhíh rakshata marutah yám âvata, gánam yám ugrâh tavasah vi-rapsinah pâthána sámsât tánayasya pushtíshu.

9. Vísvâni bhadrâ marutah rátheshu vah mitha-sprídhyâ-iva tavishâni â-hitâ, ámseshu â vah prápatheshu khâdáyah ákshah vah kakrâ samáyâ ví vavrite.

10. Bhûrîni bhadrâ náryeshu bâhúshu vákshah-su rukmâh rabhasâsah añgáyah, ámseshu étâh pavíshu kshurâh ádhi váyah ná pakshân ví ánu sríyah dhire.

11. Mahântah mahnâ vi-bhvāh ví-bhûtayah dûre-drísah yé divyâh-iva strí-bhih, mandrâh su-gihvâh sváritârah âsá-bhih sám-mislâh índre marútah pari-stúbhah.

12. Tát vah su-gâtâh marutah mahi-tvanám dîrghám vah dâtrám áditeh-iva vratám, índrah kaná tyágasâ ví hrunâti tát gánâya yásmai sukríte árâdhvam.

13. Tát vah gâmi-tvám marutah páre yugé purú yát sámsam amritâsah âvata, ayâ dhiyâ

7. The Maruts whose gifts are firm, whose bounties are never ceasing, who do not revile,[1] and who are highly praised at the sacrifices, they sing forth their song[2] for to drink the sweet juice: they know the first manly deeds of the hero (Indra).

8. The man whom you guarded, O Maruts, shield him with hundredfold strongholds from injury[1] and mischief,—the man whom you, O fearful, powerful singers, protect from reproach in the prosperity of his children.

9. On your chariots, O Maruts, there are all good things, strong weapons[1] are piled up clashing against each other. When you are on your journeys, you carry the rings[2] on your shoulders, and your axle turns the two wheels at once.[3]

10. In your manly arms there are many good things, on your chests golden chains,[1] flaring[2] ornaments, on your shoulders speckled deer-skins,[3] on your fellies sharp edges;[4] as birds spread their wings, you spread out your splendour behind you.

11. They, mighty by might, all pervading, powerful,[1] visible from afar like the heavens[2] with the stars, sweet-toned, soft-tongued singers with their mouths,[3] the Maruts, united with Indra, shout all around.

12. This is your greatness,[1] O well-born Maruts!—your bounty[2] extends as far as the sway[3] of Aditi.[4] Not even[5] Indra in his scorn[6] can injure that bounty, on whatever man you have bestowed it for his good deeds.

13. This is your kinship (with us), O Maruts, that you, immortals, in former years have often regarded

mánave srushtím ắvya sâkám nárah damsánaih ắ kikitrire.

14. Yéna dîrghám marutah susávâma yushmắkena párînasâ turâsah, ắ yát tatánan vrigáne gánâsah ebhíh yagñébhih tát abhí íshtim asyâm.

15. Eshấh vah stómah marutah iyám gíh mândâryásya mânyásya kâróh, ắ ishắ yâsîshta tanvẽ vayắm vidyắma ishám vrigánam gîrá-dânum.

COMMENTARY.

This hymn is ascribed to Agastya, the reputed son of Mitrâvarunau, and brother of Vasishtha. The metre in verses 1–13 is Gagatî, in 14, 15 Trishtubh.

Verse 1, note [1]. Rabhasá, an adjective of rábhas, and this again from the root rabh, to rush upon a thing, â-rabh, to begin a thing. From this root rabh we have the Latin *robur*, in the general sense of strength, while in *rabies* the original meaning of impetuous motion has been more clearly preserved. In the Vedic Sanskrit, derivatives from the root rabh convey the meaning both of quickness and of strength. Quickness in ancient language frequently implies strength, and strength implies quickness, as we see, for instance, from the German *snël*, which, from meaning originally strong, comes to mean in modern German quick, and quick only. Thus we read:

i. 145, 3. *sísuh ắ* adatta sám rábhah.

The child (Agni) acquired vigour.

Indra is called rabhah-dâh, giver of strength; and rabhasá, vigorous, is applied not only to the Maruts, who

our call.[1] Having through this prayer granted a hearing to man, these heroes become well known by their valiant deeds.

14. That we may long flourish, O Maruts, with your wealth, O ye racers, that our men may spread in the camp, therefore let me achieve the rite with these offerings.

15. May this praise, O Maruts, may this song of Mândârya, the son of Mâna, the poet, approach you (asking) for offspring to our body together with food! May we find food, and a camp with running water!

---

in v. 58, 5, are called rábhishṭhâḥ, the most vigorous, but also to Agni, ii. 10, 4, and to Indra, iii. 31, 12.

In the sense of rabid, furious, it occurs in

x. 95, 14. ádha enam vrîkâḥ rabhasấsaḥ adyúḥ.

May rabid wolves eat him!

In the next verse rabhasá, the epithet of the wolves, is replaced by ásiva, which means unlucky, uncanny.

In our hymn rabhasá occurs once more, and is applied there, in verse 10, to the añgí or glittering ornaments of the Maruts. Here Sâyaṇa translates it by lovely, and it was most likely intended to convey the idea of lively or brilliant splendour. See also ix. 96, 1.

Verse 1, note [2]. Ketú, derived from an old root ki, in Sanskrit ki, to perceive, means originally that by which a thing is perceived or known, whether a sign, or a flag, or a herald. It then takes the more general sense of light and splendour. In our passage, herald seems to me the most appropriate rendering, though B. and R. prefer the sense of banner. The Maruts come before Indra, they announce the arrival of Indra, they are the first of his army.

Verse 1, note [3]. The real difficulty of our verse lies in the two comparisons aidhấ-iva and yudhấ-iva. Neither of them occurs again in the Rig-veda. B. and R. explain aidhấ as an instrumental of aídh, flaming, or flame, and derive it from the root idh, to kindle, with the preposition â. Professor Bollensen in his excellent article Zur Herstellung des Veda (Orient und Occident, vol. iii. p. 473) says: 'The analysis of the text given in the Pada, viz. aidhấ-iva and yudhấ-iva, is contrary to all sense. The common predicate is tavishấ*n*i kartana, exercise your power, you roarers, i. e. blow as if you meant to kindle the fire on the altar, show your power as if you went to battle. We ought therefore to read aidhé | va and yudhé | va. Both are infinitives, aidh is nothing but the root idh + â, to kindle, to light.' Now this is certainly a very ingenious explanation, but it rests on a supposition which I cannot consider as proved, viz. that in the Veda, as in Pali, the comparative particle iva may be abbreviated to va. It must be admitted, I believe, that the two short syllables of iva are occasionally counted in the Veda as one, but yudhé-iva, though it might become yudhá iva, would never in the Veda become yudhéva.

As yudhấ occurs frequently in the Veda, we may begin by admitting that the parallel form aidhấ must be explained in analogy to yudhấ. Now yúdh is a verbal noun and means fighting. We have the accusative yúdham, i. 53, 7; the genitive yudhá*h*, viii. 27, 17; the dative yudhé, i. 61, 13; the locative yudhí, i. 8, 3; the instrumental yudhấ, i. 53, 7, &c.; loc. plur. yut-sú, i. 91, 21. As long as yúdh retains the general predicative meaning of fighting, some of these cases may be called infinitives. But yúdh soon assumes not only the meaning of battle, battle-ground, but also of instrument of fighting, weapon. In another passage, x. 103, 2, yúdha*h* may be taken as a vocative plural, meaning fighters. Passages in which yúdh means clearly weapon, are, for instance,

v. 52, 6. ấ rukmaí*h* ấ yudhấ nára*h* *r*ishvấ*h* *r*ish*t*í*h* as*r*ikshata.

With your gold chains, with your weapon, you have stretched forth the uplifted spears.

x. 55, 8. pîtvî́ sómasya divá*h* ấ v*r*idhânā́*h* *s*ū́ra*h* ní*h* yudhấ adhamat dásyûn.

The hero, growing, after drinking the Soma, blew away from the sky the enemies with his weapon. See also x. 103, 4.

I therefore take yúdh in our passage also in the sense of weapon or sword, and, in accordance with this, I assign to aídh the meaning of torch. Whether aídh comes from idh with the preposition â, which after all, would only give edh, or whether we have in the Sanskrit aídh the same peculiar strengthening which this very root shows in Greek and Latin*, would be difficult to decide. The torch of the Maruts is the lightning, the weapon the thunderbolt, and by both they manifest their strength.

Wilson: 'We proclaim eagerly, Maruts, your ancient greatness, for (the sake of inducing) your prompt appearance, as the indication of (the approach of) the showerer (of benefits). Loud-roaring and mighty Maruts, you exert your vigorous energies for the advance (to the sacrifice), as if it was to battle.'

Langlois: 'Le généreux (Agni) a donné le signal; chantons l'hymne du matin en l'honneur d'une race impétueuse. O puissants et rapides Marouts, que la marche accroisse votre éclat; que l'élan du combat augmente vos forces!'

Verse 2, note [1]. That úpa can be construed with the accusative is clear from many passages:

iii. 35, 2. úpa imám ya*g*ñám ấ vahâta*h* índram.
Bring Indra to this sacrifice!

i. 25, 4. váya*h* ná vasatī́*h* úpa.
As birds (fly) to their nests.

Verse 2, note [2]. Nítya, from ni + tya, means originally what is inside, *internus*, then what is one's own; and is opposed to níshtya, from nis + tya, what is outside, strange, or hostile. Nítya has been well compared with ni*g*á, literally

* Schleicher, Compendium, § 36, *αἴθω, αἰθήρ, αἴθουσα*; and § 49, *aides, aidilis, æstas.*

eingeboren, then, like nítya, one's own. What is inside, or in a thing or place, is its own, is peculiar to it, does not move or change, and hence the secondary meanings of nítya, one's own, unchanging, eternal. Thus we find nítya used in the sense of internal or domestic:

i. 73, 4. tám tvâ nára*h* dáme ấ nítyam iddhám ágne sá*k*anta kshitíshu dhruvấsu.

Our men worshipped thee, O Agni, lighted within the house in safe places.

This I believe to be a more appropriate rendering than if we take nítya in the sense of always, continuously lighted, or, as some propose, in the sense of eternal, everlasting.

vii. 1, 2. dakshấyya*h* yá*h* dáme ấsa nítya*h*.

Agni who is to be pleased within the house, i.e. as belonging to the house, and, in that sense, who is to be pleased always. Cf. i. 140, 7; 141, 2; x. 12, 2, and iii. 25, 5, where nítya*h*, however, may have been intended as an adjective belonging to the vocative sûno.

Most frequently nítya occurs with sûnú, i. 66, 1; 185, 2; tánaya, iii. 15, 2; x. 39, 14; toká, ii. 2, 11; âpí, vii. 88, 6; páti, i. 71, 1, and has always the meaning of one's own, very much like the later Sanskrit ni*g*a, which never occurs in the Rig-veda, though it makes its appearance in the Âtharva*n*a.

Nísh*t*ya, *extraneus*, occurs three times in the Rig-veda:

vi. 75, 19. yá*h* na*h* svá*h* ára*n*a*h* yá*h* *k*a nísh*t*ya*h* *g*ígha*m*sati.

Whoever wishes to hurt us, our own friend or a stranger from without.

x. 133, 5. yá*h* na*h* indra abhi-dấsati sá-nâbhi*h* yá*h* *k*a nísh*t*ya*h*.

He who infests us, O Indra, whether a relative or a stranger.

viii. 1, 13. mấ bhûma nísh*t*yâ*h*-iva índra tvád ára*n*â*h*-iva.

Let us not be like outsiders, O Indra, not like strangers to thee.

Wilson: 'Ever accepting the sweet (libation), as (they would) a son, they sport playfully at sacrifices, demolishing (all intruders).'

Langlois: 'Acceptant la douce libation sans cesse renou-

velée, comme (un père adopte) un nouveau-né, ils se livrent à leurs jeux au milieu des sacrifices, terribles (pour leurs ennemis).'

Verse 4, note [1]. Ávyata, a Vedic second aorist of vî (ag), to stir up, to excite. From it pravayana, a goad, pra-vetar, a driver. The Greek *οἶ-σ-τρος*, gad-fly, has been referred to the same root. See Fick, Wörterbuch, p. 170.

Verse 4, note [2]. Adhragan, from dhrag, a root which, by metathesis of aspiration, would assume the form of dragh or dragh. In Greek, the final medial aspirate being hardened, reacts on the initial media, and changes it to t, as bâhu becomes *πῆχυς*, budh *πυθ*, bandh *πενθ*. This would give us *τρεχ*, the Greek root for running, Goth. *thrag-jan*.

Verse 4, note [3]. Harmyá is used here as an adjective to bhúvana, and can only mean living in houses. It does not, however, occur again in the same sense, though it occurs several times as a substantive, meaning house. Its original meaning is fire-pit, then hearth, then house, a transition of meaning analogous to that of *ædes*. Most of the ancient nations begin their kitchen with a fire-pit. 'They dig a hole in the ground, take a piece of the animal's raw hide, and press it down with their hands close to the sides of the hole, which thus becomes a sort of pot or basin. This they fill with water, and they make a number of stones red-hot in a fire close by. The meat is put into the water, and the stones dropped in till the meat is boiled. Catlin describes the process as awkward and tedious, and says that since the Assinaboins had learnt from the Mandans to make pottery, and had been supplied with vessels by the traders, they had entirely done away the custom, "excepting at public festivals; where they seem, like all others of the human family, to take pleasure in cherishing and perpetuating their ancient customs*."' This pit was

---

* Tylor, Early History of Mankind, p. 262.

called harmyá, which is the Zend zairimya*, or gharmá, which is the Latin *formus*. Thus we read:

vii. 56, 16. té harmye-sthấ*h* *s*í*s*ava*h* ná *s*ubhrấ*h*.

The Maruts bright like boys standing by the hearth.

From meaning fire-pit, or hearth, harmyá afterwards takes the more general sense of house:

vii. 55, 6. téshâm sám hanma*h* akshấ*n*i yáthâ idám harmyám táthâ.

We shut their eyes as we shut this house, (possibly, this oven.)

vii. 76, 2. pratî*k*î́ ấ agât ádhi harmyébhya*h*.

The dawn comes near, over the house-tops.

x. 46, 3. *g*âtá*h* ấ harmyéshu.

Agni, born in the houses.

x. 73, 10. manyó*h* iyâya harmyéshu tasthau.

He came from Manyu, he remained in the houses.

In some of these passages harmyá might be taken in the sense of householder; but as harmyá in vii. 55, 6, has clearly the meaning of a building, it seems better not to assign to it unnecessarily any new significations.

But there is one other meaning which harmyá has clearly assumed in the Veda, and that is pit, or the region of darkness, the abode of evil spirits, lastly the abode of the departed. The transition of meaning is intelligible enough, the fiery oven becoming naturally the symbol of any other place of torment:

v. 32, 5. yúyutsantam támasi harmyé dhấ*h*.

When thou, Indra, hadst placed *S*ush*n*a, who was anxious to fight, in the darkness of the pit.

In the next verse we find

asûryé támasi, in the ghastly darkness.

viii. 5, 23. yuvám ká*n*vâya nâsatyâ ápi-riptâya harmyé *s*á*s*vat ûtî́*h* da*s*asyatha*h*.

You, Nâsatyas, always grant your aid to Ka*n*va when thrown into the pit.

---

* Justi, Handbuch, p. 119, zairimyañura, adj. in der Tiefe essend, Name eines Daêva oder, da er dem Hund gegenüber genannt wird, eines ahrimanischen Thieres, Spiegel (Av. übers. vol. i. p. 190) vermuthet des Hamsters.

This fiery pit into which Atri is thrown, and where he, too, was saved by the Asvins, is likewise called gharmá, i. 112, 7; 119, 6; viii. 73, 3; x. 80, 3.

Lastly we find:

x. 114, 10. yadā́ yamáh bhávati harmyé hitáh.

When Yama is seated in his house, or in the nether world.

The Pitars, too, the spirits of the departed, the Manes, are called gharma-sád, dwelling in the abode of Yama, x. 15, 9, and 10.

Wilson: 'Those, your coursers, which traverse the regions in their speed, proceed, self-guided: all worlds, all dwellings are alarmed, for marvellous is your coming: (such fear as is felt) when spears are thrust forth (in battle).'

Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 234: 'Die ihr die Luft erfüllt mit eurer Kraft, hervorstürmt ihr selbst-gelenkten Laufes.'

Verse 5, note [1]. Nad certainly means to sound, and the causative might be translated by 'to make cry or shriek.' If we took párvata in the sense of cloud, we might translate, 'When you make the clouds roar;' if we took párvata for mountain, we might, with Professor Wilson, render the passage by 'When your brilliant coursers make the mountains echo.' But nad, like other roots which afterwards take the meaning of sounding, means originally to vibrate, to shake; and if we compare analogous passages where nad occurs, we shall see that in our verse, too, the Vedic poet undoubtedly meant nad to be taken in that sense:

viii. 20, 5. ákyutâ kit vah ágman ā́ nā́nadati párvatâsah vánaspátih, bhū́mih yā́meshu regate.

At your racing even things that are immovable shake, the rocks, the lord of the forest; the earth trembles on your ways. (See i. 37, 7, note [1], page 62.)

Verse 5, note [2]. See i. 37, 7, note [1], page 62.

Verse 5, note [3]. Rathiyántî-iva does not occur again.

Sâyana explains it, like a woman who wishes for a chariot, or who rides in a chariot. I join it with óshadhi, and take it in the sense of upamânâd âkâre (Pân. iii. 1, 10), i. e. to behave like or to be like a chariot, whether the comparison is meant to express simply the quickness of chariots or the whirling of their wheels. The Pada has rathiyántî, whereas the more regular form is that of the Sanhitâ, rathîyántî. Cf. Prâtisâkhya, 587.

Verse 6, note [1]. Su-ketúnâ, the instrumental of su-ketú, kindness, good-mindedness, favour. This word occurs in the instrumental only, and always refers to the kindness of the gods; not, like sumatí, to the kindness of the worshipper also:

i. 79, 9. ấ nah agne su-ketúnâ rayím visvấyu-poshasam, mârdîkám dhehi gîváse.

Give us, O Agni, through thy favour wealth which supports our whole life, give us grace to live.

i. 127, 11. sáh nah nédishtham dádrisânah ấ bhara ágne devébhih sá-kanâh su-ketúnâ mahái râyáh su-ketúnâ.

Thou, O Agni, seen close to us, bring to us, in company with the gods, by thy favour, great riches, by thy favour!

i. 159, 5. asmábhyam dyâvâprithivî (íti) su-ketúnâ rayím dhattam vásu-mantam sata-gvínam.

Give to us, O Dyâvâprithivî, by your favour, wealth, consisting of treasures and many flocks.

v. 51, 11. svastí dyâvâprithivî (íti) su-ketúnâ.

Give us, O Dyâvâprithivî, happiness through your favour!

v. 64, 2. tấ bâhávâ su-ketúnâ prá yantam asmai árkate.

Stretch out your arms with kindness to this worshipper!

In one passage of the ninth Mandala (ix. 65, 30) we meet with su-ketúnam, as an accusative, referring to Soma, the gracious, and this would pre-suppose a substantive ketúna, which, however, does not exist.

Verse 6, note [2]. Sumatí has, no doubt, in most passages in the Rig-veda, the meaning of favour, the favour of the gods. 'Let us obtain your favour, let us be in your favour,' are familiar expressions of the Vedic poets. But there are also numerous passages where that meaning is

inapplicable, and where, as in our passage, we must translate sumatí by prayer or desire.

In the following passages sumatí is clearly used in its original sense of favour, blessing, or even gift:

i. 73, 6 (7). su-matím bhíkshamâ*n*â*h*.

Begging for thy favour.

i. 171, 1. su-ukténa bhikshe su-matím turấ*n*âm.

With a hymn I beg for the favour of the quick Maruts.

i. 114, 3. a*s*yấma te su-matím.

May we obtain thy favour! Cf. i. 114, 9.

i. 114, 4. su-matím ít vayám asya ấ v*r*i*n*îmahe.

We choose his favour. Cf. iii. 33, 11.

i. 117, 23. sádâ kavî (íti) su-matím ấ *k*ake vâm.

I always desire your favour, O ye wise A*s*vins.

i. 156, 3. mahá*h* te vish*n*o (íti) su-matím bha*g*âmahe.

May we, O Vish*n*u, enjoy the favour of thee, the mighty!

Bhiksh, to beg, used above, is an old desiderative form of bha*g*, and means to wish to enjoy.

iii. 4, 1. su-matím râsi vásva*h*.

Thou grantest the favour of wealth.

vii. 39, 1. ûrdhvá*h* agní*h* su-matím vásva*h* a*s*ret.

The lighted fire went up for the favour of wealth. Cf. vii. 60, 11; ix. 97, 26.

iii. 57, 6. váso (íti) rấsva su-matím vi*s*vá-*g*anyâm.

Grant us, O Vasu, thy favour, which is glorious among men!

vii. 100, 2. tvám vish*n*o (íti) su-matím vi*s*vá-*g*anyâm—dấ*h*.

Mayest thou, Vish*n*u, give thy favour, which is glorious among men!

x. 11, 7. yá*h* te agne su-matím márta*h* ákshat.

The mortal who obtained thy favour, O Agni.

ii. 34, 15. arvấ*k*î sấ maruta*h* yấ va*h* ûtí*h* ó (íti) sú vâ*s*rấ-iva su-matí*h* *g*igâtu.

Your help, O Maruts, which is to usward, your favour may it come near, like a cow!

viii. 22, 4. asmấn á*kkh*a su-matí*h* vâm *s*ubha*h* patî (íti) ấ dhenú*h*-iva dhâvatu.

May your favour, O A*s*vins, hasten towards us, like a cow!

But this meaning is by no means the invariable meaning of sumatí, and it will easily be seen that, in the following passages, the word must be translated by prayer. Thus when Sarasvatî is called (i. 3, 11) *k*étantî su-matînấm, this can only mean she who knows of the prayers, as before she is called *k*odayitrî́ sûn*r*ítânâm, she who excites songs of praise:

i. 151, 7. á*kk*ha gíra*h* su-matím gantam asma-yû́ (íti).

Come towards the songs, towards the prayer, you who are longing for us. Cf. x. 20, 10.

ii. 43, 3. tûsh*n*î́m ấsîna*h* su-matím *k*ikiddhi na*h*.

Sitting quiet, listen, O *S*akuni (bird), to our prayer!

v. 1, 10. ấ bhándish*th*asya su-matím *k*ikiddhi.

Take notice of the prayer of thy best praiser! Cf. v. 33, 1.

vii. 18, 4. ấ na*h* índra*h* su-matím gantu á*kk*ha.

May Indra come to our prayer!

vii. 31, 10. prá-*k*etase prá su-matím kri*n*udhvam.

Make a prayer for the wise god!

ix. 96, 2. su-matím yâti á*kk*ha.

He (Soma) goes near to the prayer.

x. 148, 3. *r*íshî*n*âm vípra*h* su-matím *k*akâná*h*.

Thou, the wise, desiring the prayer of the *R*ishis.

viii. 22, 6. tấ vâm adyá sumatí-bhi*h* *s*ubha*h* patî (íti) á*s*vinâ prá stuvîmahi.

Let us praise to-day the glorious A*s*vins with our prayers.

ix. 74, 1. tám îmahe su-matî́.

We implore him with prayer.

In our passage the verb pipartana, fill or fulfil, indicates in what sense sumatí ought to be taken. Su-matím pipartana is no more than kấmam pipartana, fulfil our desire! See vii. 62, 3. ấ na*h* kấmam pûpurantu; i. 158, 2. kâma-pré*n*a-iva mánasâ. On sumná, see Aufrecht, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. iv. p. 274.

Verse 6, note [3]. Krívi*h*-datî has been a crux to ancient and modern interpreters. It is mentioned as a difficult word in the Nigha*nt*u, and all that Yâska has to say is that it means possessed of cutting teeth; (Nir. vi. 30. krivirdatî vikartanadantî.) Professor Roth, in his note to this passage, says that krivi can never have the meaning

of well, which is ascribed to it in the Nighantu iii. 23, but seems rather to mean an animal, perhaps the wild boar, κάπρος, with metathesis of v and r. He translates our passage: 'Where your lightning with boar-teeth tears.' In his Dictionary, however, he only says, '*krivis*, perhaps the name of an animal, and *dant*, tooth.' Sâyana contents himself with explaining krívirdatî by vikshepanasîladantî, having teeth that scatter about.

My own translation is founded on the supposition that krívis, the first portion of krívirdatî, has nothing to do with krivi, but is a dialectic variety of kravís, raw flesh, the Greek κρέας, Latin *caro*, *cruor*. It means what is raw, bloody, or gory. From it the adjective krûra, horrible, *cruentus*; (Curtius, Grundzüge, p. 142; Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 235.) A name of the goddess Durgâ in later Sanskrit is krûradantî, and with a similar conception the lightning, I believe, is here called krívirdatî, with gory teeth.

Verse 6, note [4]. It should be observed that in rádati the simile of the teeth of the lightning is carried on. For rádati may be supposed to have had in the Veda, too, the original meaning of râdere and rôdere, to scratch, to gnaw. Rada and radana in the later Sanskrit mean tooth. It is curious, however, that there is no other passage in the Rig-veda where rad clearly means to bite. It means to cut, in

i. 61, 12. góh ná párva ví rada tiraskắ.

Cut his joint through, as the joint of an ox.

But in most passages where rad occurs in the Veda, it has the meaning of giving, and is in fact a different root, but hardly the same which we have in the Zend râd, to give, and which Justi rightly identifies with the root râdh.

This meaning is evident in the following passages:

vii. 79, 4. tắvat ushah rắdhah asmábhyam râsva yắvat stotrí-bhyah áradah grinânắ.

Grant us, Ushas, so much wealth as thou hast given to the singers.

i. 116, 7. kakshîvate aradatam púram-dhim.

You gave wisdom to Kakshîvat.

i. 169, 8. ráda marút-bhih surúdhah gó-agrâh.

Give to the Maruts gifts, rich in cattle.

P 2

vii. 62, 3. ví na*h* sahásram *s*urúdha*h* radantu.
May they (the gods) give to us a thousand gifts.
i. 117, 11. vấ*g*am víprâya—rádantâ.
Giving sustenance to the sage!
vi. 61, 6. ráda pûshấ-iva na*h* saním.
Give us, Sarasvatî, wealth, like Pûshan!
ix. 93, 4. rada índo (íti) rayím.
Give us, O Indra, wealth!
vii. 32, 18. rada-vaso (íti).
Indra, thou who givest wealth!

In many passages, however, this verb rad is connected with words meaning way or path, and it then becomes a question whether it simply means to grant a way, or to cut a way open for some one. In Zend, too, the same idiom occurs, and Professor Justi explains it by 'prepare a way.' I subjoin the principal passages:

vi. 30, 3. yát âbhya*h* árada*h* gâtúm indra.
That thou hast cut a way for them (the rivers).
iv. 19, 2. prá vartanî́*h* arada*h* vi*s*vá-dhenâ*h*.
Thou (Indra) hast cut open the paths for all the cows.
vii. 47, 4. yấbhya*h* índra*h* áradat gâtúm.
The rivers for which Indra cut a way.
x. 75, 2. prá te aradat váru*n*a*h* yấtave pathá*h*.
Varu*n*a cut the paths for thee to go.
vii. 87, 1. rádat pathá*h* váru*n*a*h* sû́ryâya.
Varu*n*a cut paths for Sûrya.
v. 80, 3. pathá*h* rádantî suvitấya devî́.
She, the dawn, cutting open the paths for wealth.
vii. 60, 4. yásmai âdityấ*h* ádhvana*h* rádanti.
For whom the Âdityas cut roads.
ii. 30, 2. pathá*h* rádantî*h*—dhúnaya*h* yanti ártham.
Cutting their paths, the rivers go to their goal.

This last verse seems to show that the cutting open of a road is really the idea expressed by rad in all these passages. And thus we find the rivers themselves saying that Indra cut them out or delivered them:

iii. 33, 6. índra*h* asmấn aradat vá*g*ra-bâhu*h*. Cf. x. 89, 7.

Verse 6, note [5]. Ri*n*ấti, like the preceding expressions krívirdatî and rádati, is not chosen at random, for though

it has the general meaning of crushing or destroying, it is used by the Vedic poets with special reference to the chewing or crunching by means of the teeth. For instance,

i. 148, 4. purū́ni dasmáh ní rinâti gámbhaih.

Agni crunches many things with his jaws.

i. 127, 4. sthirā́ kit ánnâ ní rinâti ógasâ.

Even tough morsels he (Agni) crunches fiercely.

In a more general sense we find it used,

v. 41, 10. sokíh-kesah ní rinâti vánâ.

Agni with flaming hair swallows or destroys the forests.

iv. 19, 3. áhim vágrena ví rinâh.

Thou destroyedst Ahi with the thunderbolt.

x. 120, 1. sadyáh gagñânáh ní rinâti sátrûn.

As soon as born he destroys his enemies.

Verse 6, note [6]. Súdhitâ-iva barhánâ. I think the explanation of this phrase given by Sâyana may be retained. He explains súdhitâ by suhitâ, i.e. sushthu preritâ, well thrown, well levelled, and barhánâ by hatis, tatsâdhanâ hetir vâ, a blow or its instrument, a weapon. Professor Roth takes barhánâ as an instrumental, used abverbially, in the sense of powerfully, but he does not explain in what sense súdhitâ-iva ought then to be taken. We cannot well refer it to didyút, lightning, on account of the iva, which requires something that can form a simile of the lightning. Nor is su-dhitâ ever used as a substantive so as to take the place of svádhitîva. Sú-dhita has apparently many meanings, but they all centre in one common conception. Sú-dhita means well placed, of a thing which is at rest, well arranged, well ordered, secure; or it means well sent, well thrown, of a thing which has been in motion. Applied to human beings, it means well disposed or kind.

iii. 23, 1. níh-mathitah sú-dhitah ā́ sadhá-sthe.

Agni produced by rubbing, and well placed in his abode.

vii. 42, 4. sú-prîtah agníh sú-dhitah dáme ā́.

Agni, who is cherished and well placed in the house.

iii. 29, 2. arányoh ní-hitah gâtá-vedâh gárbhah-iva sú-dhitah garbhínîshu.

Agni placed in the two fire-sticks, well placed like an embryo in the mothers. Cf. x. 27, 16.

viii. 60, 4. abhí práyâmsi sú-dhitâ â vaso (íti) gahi.

Come, O Vasu, to these well-placed offerings. Cf. i. 135, 4; vi. 15, 15; x. 53, 2.

x. 70, 8. sú-dhitâ havîmshi.

The well-placed offerings.

iv. 2, 10 (adhvarám). vii. 7, 3 (barhíh).

As applied to âyus, life, súdhita may be translated by well established, safe:

ii. 27, 10. asyâma âyûmshi sú-dhitâni pûrvâ.

May we obtain the happy long lives of our forefathers.

iv. 50, 8. sáh ít ksheti sú-dhitah ókasi své.

That man dwells secure in his own house.

Applied to a missile weapon, súdhita may mean well placed, as it were, well shouldered, well held, before it is thrown; or well levelled, well aimed, when it is thrown:

i. 167, 3. mimyáksha yéshu sú-dhitâ—rishtíh.

To whom the well held spear sticks fast.

vi. 33, 3. tvám tân indra ubháyân amítrân dâsâ vritrâni âryâ ka sûra, vádhîh vánâ-iva sú-dhitebhih átkaih.

Thou, Indra, O hero, strikest both enemies, the barbarous and the Aryan fiends, like forests with well-aimed weapons.

Applied to a poem, súdhita means well arranged or perfect:

i. 140, 11. idám agne sú-dhitam dúh-dhitât ádhi priyât ûm (íti) kit márnmanah préyah astu te.

May this perfect prayer be more agreeable to thee than an imperfect one, though thou likest it.

vii. 32, 13. mántram ákharvam sú-dhitam.

A poem, not mean, well contrived.

As applied to men, súdhita means very much the same as hitá, well disposed, kind:

iv. 6, 7. ádha mitráh ná sú-dhitah pâvakáh agníh dîdâya mânushîshu vikshú.

Then, like a kind friend, Agni shone among the children of man.

v. 3, 2. mitrám sú-dhitam.

vi. 15, 2. mitrám ná yám sú-dhitam.

viii. 23, 8. mitrám ná gáne sú-dhitam ritá-vani.

x. 115, 7. mitrásah ná yé sú-dhitâh.

At last sú-dhita, without reference to human beings, takes the general sense of kind, good:

iii. 11, 8. pári vísvâni sú-dhitâ agnéh asyâma mánma-bhih.

May we obtain through our prayers all the goods of Agni.

Here, however, práyâmsi may have to be supplied, and in that case this passage, too, should be classed with those mentioned above, viii. 60, 4, &c.

If then we consider that súdhita, as applied to weapons, means well held or well aimed, we can hardly doubt that barhánâ is here, as Sâyana says, some kind of weapon. I should derive it from barhayati, to crush, which we have, for instance,

i. 133, 5. pisáṅga-bhrishtim ambhrinám pisâkim indra sám mrina, sárvam rákshah ní barhaya.

Pound together the fearful Pisâki with his fiery weapons, strike down every Rakshas.

ii. 23, 8. bríhaspate deva-nídah ní barhaya.

Brihaspati strike down the scoffers of the gods. Cf. vi. 61, 3.

Barhánâ would therefore mean a weapon intended to crush an enemy, a block of stone, it may be, or some other missile, and in that sense barhánâ occurs at least once more:

viii. 63, 7. yát páñka-ganyayâ visâ índre ghóshâh ásrikshata, ástrinât barhánâ vipáh.

When shouts have been sent up to Indra by the people of the five clans, then the weapon scattered the enemies; or, then he scattered the enemies with his weapon.

In other passages Professor Roth is no doubt right when he assigns to barhánâ an adverbial meaning, but I do not think that this meaning would be appropriate in our verse.

Verse 7, note [1]. Alâtrinâsah, a word which occurs but once more, and which had evidently become unintelligible even at the time of Yâska. He (Nir. vi. 2) explains it by alamâtardano meghah, the cloud which opens easily. This, at least, is the translation given by Professor Roth, though not without hesitation. Alamâtardanah, as a compound, is

explained by the commentator as âtardanaparyâpta*h*, alam âtardayitum udakam, i. e. capable of letting off the water. But Devarâ*g*aya*g*van explains it differently. He says: alam paryâptam âtardanam hi*m*sâ yasya, bahûdakatvât *s*abalo megho vi*s*eshyate, i. e. whose injuring is great; the dark cloud is so called because it contains much water. Sâya*n*a, too, attempts several explanations. In iii. 30, 10, he seems to derive it from t*r*ih, to kill, not, like Yâska, from t*r*id, and he explains its meaning as the cloud which is exceedingly hurt by reason of its holding so much water. In our passage he explains it either as anât*r*i*n*a, free from injury, or good hurters of enemies, or good givers of rewards.

From all this I am afraid we gain nothing. Let us now see what modern commentators have proposed in order to discover an appropriate meaning in this word. Professor Roth suggests that the word may be derived from râ, to give, and the suffix t*r*i*n*a, and the negative particle, thus meaning, one who does not give or yield anything. But, if so, how is this adjective applicable to the Maruts, who in this very verse are praised for their generosity? Langlois in our passage translates, 'heureux de nos louanges;' in iii. 30, 10, 'qui laissait flétrir les plantes.' Wilson in our passage translates, 'devoid of malevolence;' but in iii. 30, 10, 'heavy.'

I do not pretend to solve all these difficulties, but I may say this in defence of my own explanation that it fulfils the condition of being applicable both to the Maruts and to the demon Bala. The suffix t*r*i*n*a is certainly irregular, and I should much prefer to write alât*r*i*n*a, for in that case we might derive lâtrin from lâtra, and to this lâtra, i. e. râtra, I should ascribe the sense of barking. The root rai or râ means to bark, and has been connected by Professor Aufrecht with Latin *rire*, *inrire*, and possibly *inritare* *, thus showing a transition of meaning from barking, to provoking or attacking. The same root râ explains also the Latin *lâtrare*, to bark, *allatrare*, to assail; and, whatever ancient etymologists may say to the contrary, the Latin *latro*, an assailer. The old derivation 'latrones eos

* Kuhn, Zeitschrift, vol. ix. p. 233.

antiqui dicebant, qui conducti militabant, ἀπὸ τῆς λατρείας,' seems to me one of those etymologies in which the scholars of Rome, who had learnt a little Greek, delighted as much as scholars who know a little Sanskrit delight in finding some plausible derivation for any Greek or Latin word in Sanskrit. I know that Curtius (Grundzüge, p. 326) and Corssen (Kritische Nachträge, p. 239) take a different view; but a foreign word, derived from λάτρον, pay, hire, would never have proved so fertile as *latro* has been in Latin.

If then we could write alâtri*n*ắsa*h*, we should have an appropriate epithet of the Maruts, in the sense of not assailing or not reviling, in fact, free from malevolence, as Wilson translated the word, or rather Sâya*n*a's explanation of it, âtardanarahita. What gives me some confidence in this explanation is this, that it is equally applicable to the other passage where alât*ri*n*a* occurs, iii. 30, 10:

alât*ri*n*ắh* valắ*h*' indra vra*g*ắ*h* gó*h* purắ hánto*h* bháyamâna*h* ví âra.

Without barking did Vala, the keeper of the cow, full of fear, open, before thou struckest him.

If it should be objected that vra*g*á means always stable, and is not used again in the sense of keeper, one might reply that vra*g*á*h*, in the nom. sing., occurs in this one single passage only, and that bháyamâna*h*, fearing, clearly implies a personification. Otherwise, one might translate: 'Vala was quiet, O Indra, and the stable of the cow came open, full of fear, before thou struckest.' The meaning of alât*ri*ná would remain the same, the not-barking being here used as a sign that Indra's enemy was cowed, and no longer inclined to revile or defy the power of Indra. Hom. hymn. in Merc. 145, οὐδὲ κύνες λελάκοντο.

Verse 7, note [2]. See i. 38, 15, note [1], page 78.

Verse 8, note [1]. Abhí-hruti seems to have the meaning of assault, injury, insult. It occurs but once, but abhí-hrut, a feminine substantive with the same meaning, occurs several times. The verb hru, which is not mentioned in the Dhâtupâ*th*a, but has been identified with hvar, occurs in our hymn, verse 12:

i. 128, 5. sáh nah trâsate duh-itắt abhi-hrútah sámsât aghắt abhi-hrútah.

He protects us from evil, from assaults, from evil speaking, from assaults.

x. 63, 11. trắyadhvam nah duh-évâyâh abhi-hrútah.

Protect us from mischievous injury!

i. 189, 6. abhi-hrútâm ási hí deva vishpát.

For thou, god, art the deliverer from all assaults. Vishpát, deliverer, from vi and spas, to bind.

Ví-hruta, which occurs twice, means evidently what has been injured or spoiled:

viii. 1, 12. íshkartâ ví-hrutam púnar (íti).

He who sets right what has been injured. Cf. viii. 20, 26.

Ávi-hruta again clearly means uninjured, intact, entire:

v. 66, 2. tắ hí kshatrám ávi-hrutam—ắsâte.

For they both have obtained uninjured power.

x. 170, 1. ắyuh dádhat yagñá-patau ávi-hrutam.

Giving uninjured life to the lord of the sacrifice.

Verse 9, note [1]. Tavishá certainly means strength, and that it is used in the plural in the sense of acts of strength, we can see from the first verse of our hymn and other passages. But when we read that tavishắni are placed on the chariots of the Maruts, just as before bhadrắ, good things, food, &c., are mentioned, it is clear that so abstract a meaning as strength or powers would not be applicable here. We might take it in the modern sense of forces, i. e. your armies, your companions are on your chariots, striving with each other; but as the word is a neuter, weapons, as the means of strength, seemed a preferable rendering.

Verse 9, note [2]. The rendering of this passage must depend on the question whether the khâdís, whatever they are, can be carried on the shoulders or not. We saw before (p. 102) that khâdís were used both as ornaments and as weapons, and that, when used as weapons, they were most likely rings or quoits with sharp edges. There is at least one other passage where these khâdís are said to be worn on the shoulders:

vii. 56, 13. á*m*seshu ā́ maruta*h* khâdáya*h* va*h* váksha*h*-su rukmā́*h* upa-*s*i*s*riyâ*n*ā́*h*.

On your shoulders are the quoits, on your chests the golden chains are fastened.

In other places the khâdís are said to be in the hands, hásteshu, but this would only show that they are there when actually used for fighting. Thus we read:

i. 168, 3. ā́ eshâm á*m*seshu rambhínî-iva rarabhe, hásteshu khâdí*h k*a k*r*ití*h k*a sám dadhe.

To their shoulders (the spear) clings like a creeper, in their hands the quoit is held and the dagger.

In v. 58, 2, the Maruts are called khā́di-hasta, holding the quoits in their hands. There is one passage which was mentioned before (p. 94), where the khâdís are said to be on the feet of the Maruts, and on the strength of this passage Professor Roth proposes to alter prá-patheshu to prá-padeshu, and to translate, 'The khâdís are on your forefeet.' I do not think this emendation necessary. Though we do not know the exact shape and character of the khâdí, we know that it was a weapon, most likely a ring, occasionally used for ornament, and carried along either on the feet or on the shoulders, but in actual battle held in the hand. The weapon which Vish*n*u holds in one of his right hands, the so-called *k*akra, may be the modern representation of the ancient khâdí. What, however, is quite certain is this, that khâdí in the Veda never means food, as Sâya*n*a optionally interprets it. This interpretation is accepted by Wilson, who translates, 'At your resting-places on the road refreshments (are ready).' Nay, he goes on in a note to use this passage as a proof of the advanced civilisation of India at the time of the Vedic *R*ishis. 'The expression,' he says, 'is worthy of note, as indicating the existence of accommodations for the use of travellers: the Prapatha is the choltri of the south of India, the sarâi of the Mohammedans, a place by the road-side where the travellers may find shelter and provisions.'

Verse 9, note [3]. This last passage shows that the poet is really representing to himself the Maruts as on their journey, and he therefore adds, 'your axle turns the two

(iv. 30, 2) wheels together,' which probably means no more than, 'your chariot is going smoothly or quickly.' Though the expression seems to us hardly correct, yet one can well imagine how the axle was supposed to turn the wheels as the horses were drawing the axle, and the axle acted on the wheels. Anyhow, no other translation seems possible. Samáyâ in the Veda means together, at once, and is the Greek ὁμῆ, generally ὁμοῦ or ὁμῶς, the Latin *simul*. Cf. i. 56, 6; 73, 6; 113, 10; 163, 3; vii. 66, 15; ix. 75, 4; 85, 5; 97, 56.

V*r*it means to turn, and is frequently used with reference to the wheels:

viii. 46, 23. dá*s*a *s*yâvā́*h*—nemím ní vav*r*itu*h*.

The ten black horses turn the felly or the wheel.

iv. 30, 2. satrā́ te ánu k*r*ish*t*áya*h* ví*s*vâ*h* kakrā́-iva vav*r*itu*h*.

All men turn always round thee, like wheels.

That the Âtmanepada of v*r*it may be used in an active sense we see from

i. 191, 15. táta*h* vishám prá vav*r*ite.

I turn the poison out from here.

All the words used in this sentence are very old words, and we can with few exceptions turn them into Greek or Latin. In Latin we should have *axis vos(ter) circos simul divertit*. In Greek ἄξων ὑ(μῶν) κύκλῳ ὁμῆ . . . .

Verse 10, note [1]. See i. 64, 4, note [1], page 94. I ought to have mentioned there that in the Â*s*valâyana *S*rauta-sûtras ix. 4, rukma occurs as the fee to be given to the Hotar, and is explained by âbhara*n*avi*s*esho v*r*ittâkâra*h*, a round ornament.

Verse 10, note [2]. See i. 166, 1, note [1], page 200.

Verse 10, note [3]. On éta in the sense of fallow deer, or, it may be, antelope, see i. 165, 5, note [2], page 185.

Éta originally means variegated, and thus becomes a name of any speckled deer, it being difficult to say what exact species is meant. Sâya*n*a in our passage explains éta*h* by *s*uklavar*n*â mâlâ*h*, many-coloured wreaths or chains,

which may be right. Yet the suggestion of Professor Roth that *étâh*, deer, stands here for the skins of fallow deer, is certainly more poetical, and quite in accordance with the Vedic idiom, which uses, for instance, go, cow, not only in the sense of milk,—that is done even in more homely English,—but also for leather, and thong. It is likewise in accordance with what we know of the earliest dress of the Vedic Indians, that deer-skins should here be mentioned. We learn from Âsvalâyana's Grihya-sûtras, of which we now possess an excellent edition by Professor Stenzler, and a reprint of the text and commentary by Râma Nârâyana Vidyâratna, in the Bibliotheca Indica, that a boy when he was brought to his tutor, i. e. from the eighth to possibly the twenty-fourth year, had to be well combed, and attired in a new dress. A Brâhmana should wear the skin of an antelope (aineya), the Kshatriya the skin of a deer (raurava), the Vaisya the skin of a goat (âga). If they wore dresses, that of the Brâhmana should be dark red (kâshâya), that of the Kshatriya bright red (mâñgishtha), that of the Vaisya yellow (hâridra). The girdle of the Brâhmana should be of Muñga grass, that of the Kshatriya a bow-string, that of the Vaisya made of sheep's wool. The same regulations occur in other Sûtras, as, for instance, the Dharma-sûtras of the Âpastambîyas and Gautamas, though there are certain characteristic differences in each, which may be due either to local or to chronological causes. Thus according to the Âpastambîya-sûtras, which have just been published by Professor Bühler, the Brâhmana may wear the skin of the harina deer, or that of the antelope (aineyam), but the latter must be from the black antelope (krishnam), and, a proviso is added, that if a man wears the black antelope skin, he must never spread it out to sit or sleep on it. As materials for the dress, Âpastamba allows *sana*, hemp*, or kshumâ,

---

* *Sana* is an old Aryan word, though its meanings differ. Hesychius and Eustathius mention *κάννα* as being synonymous with *ψίαθος*, reed. Pollux gives two forms, *κάννα* and *κάνα*, (Pollux x. 166. *πτανάκα δέ ἐστι ψίαθος ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἀκατίοις ἣν καὶ κάναν καλοῦσιν.* vii. 176. *κάνναι δὲ τὸ ἐκ καλάβων πλέγμα.*) This is important, because the same difference of spelling occurs also in

flax, and he adds that woollen dresses are allowed to all castes, as well as the kambala (masc.), which seems to be any cloth made of vegetable substances (darbhâdinirmitam *k*îram kambalam). He then adds a curious remark, which would seem to show that the Brâhma*n*as preferred skins, and the Kshatriyas clothes, for he says that those who wish well to the Brâhma*n*as should wear a*g*ina, skins, and those who wish well to the Kshatriyas should wear vastra, clothes, and those who wish well to both should wear both, but, in that case, the skin should always form the outer garment. The Dharma-sûtras of the Gautamas, which were published in India, prescribe likewise for the Brâhma*n*a the black antelope skin, and allow clothes of hemp or linen (*s*â*n*a-kshauma*k*îra) as well as kutapas (woollen cloth) for all. What is new among the Gautamas is, that they add the kârpâsa, the cotton dress, which is important as showing

---

κάνναβις and κάναβος or κάνναβος, a model, a lay figure, which Lobeck derives from κάνναι. In Old Norse we have *hanp-r*, in A. S. *hænep*, hemp, Old High Germ. *hanaf*.

The occurrence of the word *sana* is of importance as showing at how early a time the Aryans of India were acquainted with the uses and the name of hemp. Our word hemp, the A. S. *hænep*, the Old Norse *hanp-r*, are all borrowed from Latin *cannabis*, which, like other borrowed words, has undergone the regular changes required by Grimm's law in Low German, and also in High German, *hanaf*. The Slavonic nations seem to have borrowed their word for hemp (Lith. *kanapê*) from the Goths, the Celtic nations (Ir. *canaib*) from the Romans; (cf. Kuhn, Beiträge, vol. ii. p. 382.) The Latin *cannabis* is borrowed from Greek, and the Greeks, to judge from the account of Herodotus, most likely adopted the word from the Aryan Thracians and Scythians; (Her. iv. 74; Pictet, Les Aryens, vol. i. p. 314.) Κάνναβις being a foreign word, it would be useless to attempt an explanation of the final element *bis*, which is added to *sana*, the Sanskrit word for hemp. It may be visa, fibre, or it may be anything else. Certain it is that the main element in the name of hemp was the same among the settlers in Northern India, and among the Thracians and Scythians through whom the Greeks first became acquainted with hemp.

The history of the word κάνναβις must be kept distinct from that of the Greek κάννα or κάνα, reed. Both spellings occur, for Pollux, x. 166, writes πανάκια δέ ἐστι ψίαθος ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀκατίοις ἣν καὶ κάναν καλοῦσιν, but vii. 176, κάνναι δὲ τὸ ἐκ καλάβων πλέγμα. This word κάννα may be the same as the Sanskrit *sana*, only with this difference, that it was retained as common property by Greeks and Indians before they separated, and was applied differently in later times by the one and the other.

an early knowledge of this manufacture. The kârpâsa dress occurs once more as a present to be given to the Potar priest (Âsv. Srauta-sûtras ix. 4), and evidently considered as a valuable present, taking precedence of the kshaumî or linen dress. It is provided that the cotton dress should not be dyed, for this, I suppose, is the meaning of avikrita. Immediately after, however, it is said, that some authorities say the dress should be dyed red (kâshâyam apy eke), the very expression which occurred in Âpastamba, and that, in that case, the red for the Brâhmana's dress should be taken from the bark of trees (vârksha). Manu, who here, as elsewhere, simply paraphrases the ancient Sûtras, says, ii. 41:

kârshnarauravavâstâni karmâni brahmakârinah
vasîrann ânupûrvyena sânakshaumâvikâni ka.

'Let Brahmakârins wear (as outer garments) the skins of the black antelope, the deer, the goat, (as under garments) dresses of hemp, flax, and sheep's wool, in the order of the three castes.'

The Sanskrit name for a dressed skin is agina, a word which does not occur in the Rig-veda, but which, if Bopp is right in deriving it from agá, goat, as *αἰγίς* from *αἴξ*, would have meant originally, not skin in general, but a goat-skin. The skins of the éta, here ascribed to the Maruts, would be identical with the aineya, which Âsvalâyana ascribes to the Brâhmana, not, as we should expect, to the Kshatriya, if, as has been supposed, aineya is derived from ena, which is a secondary form, particularly in the feminine enî, of eta. There is, however, another word, eda, a kind of sheep, which, but for *Festus*, might be *hœdus*, and by its side ena, a kind of antelope. These two forms pre-suppose an earlier erna, and point therefore in a different direction.

Verse 10, note [4]. I translate kshurá by sharp edges, but it might have been translated literally by razors, for, strange as it may sound, razors were known, not only during the Vedic period, but even previous to the Aryan separation. The Sanskrit kshurá is the Greek *ξυρός* or *ξυρόν*. In the Veda we have clear allusions to shaving:

x. 142, 4. yadā́ te vā́taḥ anu-vā́ti sokíh, vā́ptâ-iva *smásru* vapasi prá bhū́ma.

When the wind blows after thy blast, then thou shavest the earth as a barber shaves the beard. Cf. i. 65, 4.

If, as B. and R. suggest, vaptar, barber, is connected with the more modern name for barber in Sanskrit, viz. nâpita, we should have to admit a root svap, in the sense of tearing or pulling, *vellere*, from which we might derive the Vedic svapū́ (vii. 56, 3), beak. Corresponding to this we find in Old High German *snabul*, beak, (*schnepfe*, snipe,) and in Old Norse *nef*. The Anglo-Saxon *neb* means mouth and nose, while in modern English *neb* or *nib* is used for the bill or beak of a bird *. Another derivation of nâpita, proposed by Professor Weber (Kuhn's Beiträge, vol. i. p. 505), who takes nâpita as a dialectic form of snâpitar, *balneator*, or lavator, might be admitted if it could be proved that in India also the barber was at the same time a *balneator*.

Verse 11, note [1]. Ví-bhûtayaḥ is properly a substantive, meaning power, but, like other substantives †, and particularly substantives with prepositions, it can be used as an adjective, and is, in fact, more frequently used as an adjective than as a substantive. It is a substantive,

i. 8, 9. evá hí te ví-bhûtayaḥ ûtáyaḥ indra mā́-vate sadyáḥ *k*it sánti dâ*s*úshe.

For indeed thy powers, O Indra, are at once shelters for a sacrificer, like me.

But it is an adjective,

i. 30, 5. ví-bhûtiḥ astu sûn*ri*tâ.

May the prayer be powerful.

vi. 17, 4. mahā́m ánûnam tavásam ví-bhûtim matsarā́saḥ *g*arh*ri*shanta pra-sáham.

---

* Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii. pp. 400, 409. There is not yet sufficient evidence to show that Sanskrit sv, German *sn*, and Sanskrit n are interchangeable, but there is at least one case that may be analogous. Sanskrit svañg, to embrace, to twist round a person, German *slango*, *Schlange*, snake, and Sanskrit nâga, snake. Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik, vol. iii. p. 364.

† See Benfey, Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. ii. p. 216.

The sweet draughts of Soma delighted the great, the perfect, the strong, the powerful, the unyielding Indra. Cf. viii. 49, 6; 50, 6.

Vibhvā̃*h*, with the Svarita on the last syllable, has to be pronounced vibhúà*h*. In iii. 6, 9, we find vi-bhávа*h*.

Verse 11, note [2]. See i. 87, 1, note [1], page 144.

Verse 11, note [3]. See i. 6, 5, note [1], page 29.

Verse 12, note [1]. Mahi-tvanám, greatness, is formed by the suffix tvaná, which Professor Aufrecht has identified with the Greek σύνη (συνον); see Kuhn's Zeitschrift, vol. i. p. 482. The origin of this suffix has been explained by Professor Benfey, ibid. vol. vii. p. 120, who traces it back to the suffix tvan, for instance, i-tvan, goer, in prâta*h*-ítvâ = prâta*h*-yā̃vâ.

Verse 12, notes [2] and [3]. Vratá is one of those words which, though we may perceive their one central idea, and their original purport, we have to translate by various terms in order to make them intelligible in every passage where they occur. Vratá, I believe, meant originally what is enclosed, protected, set apart, the Greek νομός:

v. 46, 7. yā̃*h* pā̃rthivâsa*h* yā̃*h* apā̃m ápi vraté tā̃*h* na*h* devî*h* su-havâ*h* *s*árma ya*kkh*ata.

O ye gracious goddesses, who are on the earth or in the realm of the waters, grant us your protection!

Here vratá is used like vri*g*ána, see i. 165, 15, note [3], page 195.

x. 114, 2. tā̃sâm ní *k*ikyu*h* kaváya*h* ni-dā̃nam páreshu yā̃*h* gúhyeshu vratéshu.

The poets discovered their (the Nir*r*itis') origin, who are in the far hidden chambers.

i. 163, 3. ási tritá*h* gúhyena vraténa.

Thou art Trita within the hidden place, or with the secret work.

Secondly, vratá means what is fenced off, what is determined, what is settled, and hence, like dhárman, law, ordinance. In this sense vratá occurs very frequently:

i. 25, 1. yát *k*it hí te ví*s*a*h* yathâ prá deva varu*n*a vratám, minîmási dyávi-dyavi.

Whatever law of thine we break, O Varu*n*a, day by day, men as we are.

ii. 8, 3. yásya vratám ná mī́yate.

Whose law is not broken.

iii. 32, 8. índrasya kárma sú-k*r*itâ purū́*n*i vratā́ni devā́*h* ná minanti víṡve.

The deeds of Indra are well done and many, all the gods do not break his laws, or do not injure his ordinances.

ii. 24, 12. víṡvam satyám maghavânâ yuvó*h* ít ā́pa*h* *k*aná prá minanti vratám vâm.

All that is yours, O powerful gods, is true; even the waters do not break your law.

ii. 38, 7. náki*h* asya tā́ni vratā́ devásya savitú*h* minanti.

No one breaks these laws of this god Savitar. Cf. ii. 38, 9.

i. 92, 12. áminatî daívyâni vratā́ni.

Not injuring the divine ordinances. Cf. i. 124, 2.

x. 12, 5. kát asya áti vratám *k*akrima.

Which of his laws have we overstepped?

viii. 25, 16. tásya vratā́ni ánu va*h* *k*arâmasi.

His ordinances we follow.

x. 33, 9. ná devā́nâm áti vratám ṡatá-âtmâ *k*aná *g*îvati.

No one lives beyond the statute of the gods, even if he had a hundred lives.

vii. 5, 4. táva tri-dhā́tu p*r*ithivī́ utá dyaú*h* vaíṡvânara vratám agne sa*k*anta.

The earth and the sky followed thy threefold law, O Agni Vaiṡvânara.

vii. 87, 7. yá*h* m*r*i*l*áyâti *k*akrúshe *k*it ā́ga*h* vayám syâma váru*n*e ánâgâ*h*, ánu vratā́ni ádite*h* *r*idhánta*h*.

Let us be sinless before Varu*n*a, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin, let us perform the laws of Aditi!

ii. 28, 8. náma*h* purā́ te varu*n*a utá nûnám utá aparám tuvi-*g*âta bravâma, tvé hí kam párvate ná ṡritā́ni ápra-*k*yutâni du*h*-dabha vratā́ni.

Formerly, and now, and also in future let us give praise to thee, O Varu*n*a; for in thee, O unconquerable, all laws are grounded, immovable as on a rock.

A very frequent expression is ánu vratám, according to

the command of a god, ii. 38, 3; 6; viii. 40, 8; or simply ánu vratám, according to law and order:

i. 136, 5. tám aryamấ abhí rakshati *rig*u-yántam ánu vratám.

Aryaman protects him who acts uprightly according to law.

Cf. iii. 61, 1; iv. 13, 2; v. 69, 1.

The laws or ordinances or institutions of the gods are sometimes taken for the sacrifices which are supposed to be enjoined by the gods, and the performance of which is, in a certain sense, the performance of the divine will.

i. 93, 8. yá*h* agnī́shómâ havíshâ saparyā́t devadrī́*k*â mánasâ yá*h* gh*r*iténa, tásya vratám rakshatam pâtám á*m*-hasa*h*.

He who worships Agni and Soma with oblations, with a godly mind, or with an offering, protect his sacrifice, shield him from evil!

i. 31, 2. tvám agne prathamá*h* áṅgira*h*-tama*h* kaví*h* devā́nâm pári bhûshasi vratám.

Agni, the first and wisest of poets, thou performest the sacrifice of the gods.

iii. 3, 9. tásya vratā́ni bhûri-poshí*n*a*h* vayám úpa bhû-shema dáme ā́ suv*r*iktí-bhi*h*.

Let us, who possess much wealth, perform with prayers the sacrifices of Agni within our house.

In another acceptation the vratas of the gods are what they perform and establish themselves, their own deeds:

iii. 6, 5. vratā́ te agne mahatá*h* mahā́ni táva krátvâ ródasî (íti) ā́ tatantha.

The deeds of thee, the great Agni, are great, by thy power thou hast stretched out heaven and earth.

viii. 42, 1. ástabhnât dyā́m ásura*h* vi*s*vá-vedâ*h* ámimîta varimā́*n*am p*r*ithivyā́*h*, ā́ asîdat ví*s*vâ bhúvanâni sam-rā́*t* ví*s*vâ ít tā́ni váru*n*asya vratā́ni.

The wise spirit established the sky, and made the width of the earth, as king he approached all beings,—all these are the works of Varu*n*a.

vi. 14, 3. tū́rvanta*h* dásyum âyáva*h* vrataí*h* sī́kshanta*h* avratám.

Men fight the fiend, trying to overcome by their deeds him who performs no sacrifices; or, the lawless enemy.

Lastly, vratá comes to mean sway or power, and the expression vraté táva signifies, at thy command, under thy auspices:

i. 24, 15. átha vayám âditya vraté táva ánâgasa*h* áditaye syâma.

Then, O Âditya, under thy auspices may we be guiltless before Aditi.

vi. 54, 9. pū́shan táva vraté vayám ná rishyema kádâ *k*aná.

O Pûshan, may we never fail under thy protection.

x. 36, 13. yé savitú*h* satyá-savasya ví*s*ve mitrásya vraté váru*n*asya devā́*h*.

All the gods who are in the power of Savitar, Mitra, and Varu*n*a.

v. 83, 5. yásya vraté p*r*ithivī́ námnamîti yásya vraté *s*aphá-vat *g*árbhurîti, yásya vraté óshadhî*h* vi*s*vá-rûpâ*h* sá*h* na*h* par*g*anya máhi *s*árma ya*kk*ha.

At whose command the earth bows down, at whose command the earth is as lively as a hoof (?), at whose command the plants assume all shapes, mayest thou, O Par*g*anya, yield us great protection!

In our passage I take vratá in this last sense.

Dâtrá, if derived from dâ, would mean gift, and that meaning is certainly the most applicable in some passages where it occurs:

ix. 97, 55. ási bhága*h* ási dâtrásya dâtā́.

Thou art Bhaga, thou art the giver of the gift.

In other passages, too, particularly in those where the verb dâ or some similar verb occurs in the same verse, it can hardly be doubted that the poet took dâtrá, like dátra or dáttra, in the sense of gift, bounty, largess:

i. 116, 6. yám a*s*vinâ dadáthu*h* *s*vetám á*s*vam—tát vâm dâtrám máhi kîrtényam bhût.

The white horse, O A*s*vins, which you gave, that your gift was great and to be praised.

i. 185, 3. anehá*h* dâtrám ádite*h* anarvám huvé.

I call for the unrivalled, the uninjured bounty of Aditi.

vii. 56, 21. mā́ va*h* dâtrā́t maruta*h* ní*h* arâma.

May we not fall away from your bounty, O Maruts!

iii. 54, 16. yuvám hí stháh rayi-daú nah rayînā̃m dâtrám rakshethe.

For you, Nâsatyas, are our givers of riches, you protect the gift.

vi. 20, 7. *rigísvane* dâtrám dâsúshe dâh.

To *Rig*isvan, the giver, thou givest the gift.

viii. 43, 33. tát te sahasva îmahe dâtrám yát ná upa-dásyati, tvát agne vā̃ryam vásu.

We ask thee, strong hero, for the gift which does not perish; we ask from thee the precious wealth.

x. 69, 4. dâtrám rakshasva yát idám te asmé (íti).

Protect this gift of thine which thou hast given to us.

viii. 44, 18. ī̃sishe vā̃ryasya hí dâtrásya agne svā̃h-patih.

For thou, O Agni, lord of heaven, art the master of the precious gift. Cf. iv. 38, 1.

Professor Roth considers that dâtrá is derived rather from dâ, to divide, and that it means share, lot, possession. But there is not a single passage where the meaning of gift or bounty does not answer all purposes. In vii. 56, 21, mā̃ vah dâtrā̃t marutah níh arâma, is surely best translated by, 'let us not fall away from your bounty,' and in our own passage the same meaning should be assigned to dâtrá. The idea of dâtrá, bounty, is by no means incompatible with vratá, realm, dominion, sway, if we consider that the sphere within which the bounty of a king or a god is exercised and accepted, is in one sense his realm. What the poet therefore says in our passage is simply this, that the bounty of the Maruts extends as far as the realm of Aditi, i. e. is endless, or extends everywhere, Aditi being in its original conception the deity of the unbounded world beyond, the earliest attempt at expressing the Infinite.

As to dā̃tra occurring once with the accent on the first syllable in the sense of sickle, see M. M., 'Über eine Stelle in Yâska's Commentar zum Naighantuka,' Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1853, vol. vii. p. 375.

viii. 78, 10. táva ít indra ahám â-sásâ háste dā̃tram *k*aná ā̃ dade.

Trusting in thee alone, O Indra, I take the sickle in my hand.

This dā̃tra, sickle, is derived from do, to cut.

Aditi, the Infinite.

Verse 12, note [4]. Aditi, an ancient god or goddess, is in reality the earliest name invented to express the Infinite; not the Infinite as the result of a long process of abstract reasoning, but the visible Infinite, visible by the naked eye, the endless expanse beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. That was called A-diti, the un-bound, the un-bounded; one might almost say, but for fear of misunderstandings, the Absolute, for it is derived from *diti*, bond, and the negative particle, and meant therefore originally what is free from bonds of any kind, whether of space or time, free from physical weakness, free from moral guilt. Such a conception became of necessity a being, a person, a god. To us such a name and such a conception seem decidedly modern, and to find in the Veda Aditi, the Infinite, as the mother of the principal gods, is certainly, at first sight, startling. But the fact is that the thoughts of primitive humanity were not only different from our thoughts, but different also from what we think their thoughts ought to have been. The poets of the Veda indulged freely in theogonic speculations without being frightened by any contradictions. They knew of Indra as the greatest of gods, they knew of Agni as the god of gods, they knew of Varu*n*a as the ruler of all, but they were by no means startled at the idea that their Indra had a mother, or that their Agni was born like a babe from the friction of two fire-sticks, or that Varu*n*a and his brother Mitra were nursed in the lap of Aditi. Some poet would take hold of the idea of an unbounded power, of Aditi, originally without any reference to other gods. Very soon these ideas met, and, without any misgivings, either the gods were made subordinate to, and represented as the sons of Aditi, or where Indra was to be praised as supreme, Aditi was represented as doing him homage.

viii. 12, 14. utá sva-rấ*g*e áditi*h* stómam índrâya *g*î́*g*anat.

And Aditi produced a hymn for Indra, the king. Here Professor Roth takes Aditi as an epithet of Agni, not as the name of the goddess Aditi, while Dr. Muir rightly takes it in the latter sense, and retains stómam instead of sómam, as printed by Professor Aufrecht. Cf. vii. 38, 4.

The idea of the Infinite, as I have tried to show elsewhere, was revealed, was most powerfully impressed on the awakening mind, by the East*. 'It is impossible to enter fully into all the thoughts and feelings that passed through the minds of the early poets when they formed names for that far, far East from whence even the early dawn, the sun, the day, their own life, seemed to spring. A new life flashed up every morning before their eyes, and the fresh breezes of the dawn reached them like greetings from the distant lands beyond the mountains, beyond the clouds, beyond the dawn, beyond "the immortal sea which brought us hither." The dawn seemed to them to open golden gates for the sun to pass in triumph, and while those gates were open, their eyes and their mind strove in their childish way to pierce beyond the limits of this finite world. That silent aspect awakened in the human mind the conception of the Infinite, the Immortal, the Divine.' Aditi is a name for that distant East, but Aditi is more than the dawn. Aditi is beyond the dawn, and in one place (i. 113, 19) the dawn is called 'the face of Aditi,' áditer ánîkam. Thus we read:

v. 62, 8. híranya-rûpam ushásah ví-ushtau áyah-sthûnam út-itâ sûryasya, ấ rohathah varuna mitra gártam átah kakshâthe (íti) áditim dítim ka.

Mitra and Varuna, you mount your chariot, which is golden, when the dawn bursts forth, and has iron poles at the setting of the sun: from thence you see Aditi and Diti, what is yonder and what is here.

If we keep this original conception of Aditi clearly before us, the various forms which Aditi assumes, even in the hymns of the Veda, will not seem incoherent. Aditi is not a prominent deity in the Veda, she is celebrated rather in her sons, the Âdityas, than in her own person. While there are so many hymns addressed to Ushas, the dawn, or Indra, or Agni, or Savitar, there is but one hymn, x. 72, which from our point of view, though not from that of Indian theologians, might be called a hymn to Aditi. Nevertheless Aditi is a familiar name; a name of the past,

* Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, p. 499.

whether in time or in thought only, and a name that lives on in the name of the Âdityas, the sons of Aditi, including the principal deities of the Veda.

Aditi and the Âdityas.

Thus we read:

i. 107, 2. úpa na*h* devấ*h* ávasâ ấ gamantu áṅgirasâm sấma-bhi*h* stûyámânâ*h*, índra*h* indriyaí*h* marúta*h* marút-bhi*h* âdityaí*h* na*h* áditi*h* *s*árma ya*m*sat.

May the gods come to us with their help, praised by the songs of the Aṅgiras,—Indra with his forces, the Maruts with the storms, may Aditi with the Âdityas give us protection!

x. 66, 3. índra*h* vásu-bhi*h* pári pâtu na*h* gáyam âdityaí*h* na*h* áditi*h* *s*árma ya*kkh*atu, rudrá*h* rudrébhi*h* devá*h* m*r*i*l*ayâti na*h* tvásh*t*â na*h* gnấbhi*h* suvitấya *g*invatu.

May Indra with the Vasus watch our house, may Aditi with the Âdityas give us protection, may the divine Rudra with the Rudras have mercy upon us, may Tvash*t*ar with the mothers bring us to happiness!

iii. 54, 20. âdityaí*h* na*h* áditi*h* *s*ri*n*otu yá*kkh*antu na*h* marúta*h* *s*árma bhadrám.

May Aditi with the Âdityas hear us, may the Maruts give us good protection!

In another passage Varu*n*a takes the place of Aditi as the leader of the Âdityas:

vii. 35, 6. *s*ám na*h* índra*h* vásu-bhi*h* devá*h* astu *s*ám âdityébhi*h* váru*n*a*h* su-*s*á*m*sa*h*, *s*ám na*h* rudrá*h* rudrébhi*h* *g*álâsha*h* *s*ám na*h* tvásh*t*â gnấbhi*h* ihá *s*ri*n*otu.

May Indra bless us, the god with the Vasus! May Varu*n*a, the glorious, bless us with the Âdityas! May the relieving Rudra with the Rudras bless us! May Tvash*t*ar with the mothers kindly hear us here!

Even in passages where the poet seems to profess an exclusive worship of Aditi, as in

v. 69, 3. prâtá*h* devî́m áditim *g*ohavîmi madhyándine út-itâ sû́ryasya,

I invoke the divine Aditi early in the morning, at noon, and at the setting of the sun,

Mitra and Varuna, her principal sons, are mentioned immediately after, and implored, like her, to bestow blessings on their worshipper.

Her exclusive worship appears once, in viii. 19, 14.

A very frequent expression is that of âdityā́h áditih without any copula, to signify the Âdityas and Aditi:

iv. 25, 3. káh devā́nâm ávah adyá vrinîte káh âdityā́n áditim gyótih îtte.

Who does choose now the protection of the gods? Who asks the Âdityas, Aditi, for their light?

vi. 51, 5. vísve âdityâh adite sa-góshâh asmábhyam sárma bahulám ví yanta.

All ye Âdityas, Aditi together, grant to us your manifold protection!

x. 39, 11. ná tám râgânau adite kútah kaná ná ámhah asnoti duh-itám nákih bhayám.

O ye two kings (the Asvins), Aditi, no evil reaches him from anywhere, no misfortune, no fear (whom you protect). Cf. vii. 66, 6.

x. 63, 5. tā́n ā́ vivâsa námasâ suvriktí-bhih maháh âdityā́n áditim svastáye.

I cherish them with worship and with hymns, the great Âdityas, Aditi, for happiness' sake.

x. 63, 17. evá platéh sûnúh avîvridhat vah vísve âdityâh adite manîshī́.

The wise son of Plati magnified you, all ye Âdityas, Aditi!

x. 65, 9. pargányâvā́tâ vrishabhā́ purîshínâ indravâyū́ (íti) várunah mitráh aryamā́, devā́n âdityā́n áditim havâmahe yé pā́rthivâsah divyā́sah ap-sú yé.

There are Parganya and Vâta, the powerful, the givers of rain, Indra and Vâyu, Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, we call the divine Âdityas, Aditi, those who dwell on the earth, in heaven, in the waters.

We are not justified in saying that there ever was a period in the history of the religious thought of India, a period preceding the worship of the Âdityas, when Aditi, the Infinite, was worshipped, though to the sage who first coined this name, it expressed, no doubt, for a time the principal, if not the only object of his faith and worship.

Aditi and Daksha.

Soon, however, the same mental process which led on later speculators from the earth to the elephant, and from the elephant to the tortoise, led the Vedic poets beyond Aditi, the Infinite. There was something beyond that Infinite which for a time they had grasped by the name of Aditi, and this, whether intentionally or by a mere accident of language, they called dáksha, literally power or the powerful. All this, no doubt, sounds strikingly modern, yet, though the passages in which this dắksha is mentioned are few in number, I should not venture to say that they are necessarily modern, even if by modern we mean only later than 1000 B.C. Nothing can bring the perplexity of the ancient mind, if once drawn into this vortex of speculation, more clearly before us than if we read:

x. 72, 4–5. áditeh dákshah agâyata dákshât ûm (íti) áditih pári,—áditih hí ágánishta dáksha yắ duhitắ táva, tắm devắh ánu agâyanta bhadrắh amríta-bandhavah.

Daksha was born of Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha. For Aditi was born, O Daksha, she who is thy daughter; after her the gods were born, the blessed, who share in immortality.

Or, in more mythological language:

x. 64, 5. dákshasya vâ adite gánmani vraté rắgânâ mitrắ-várunâ ắ vivâsasi.

Or thou, O Aditi, nursest in the birthplace of Daksha the two kings, Mitra and Varuna.

Nay, even this does not suffice. There is something again beyond Aditi and Daksha, and one poet says:

x. 5, 7. ásat ka sát ka paramé ví-oman dákshasya gánman áditeh upá-sthe.

Not-being and Being are in the highest heaven, in the birthplace of Daksha, in the lap of Aditi.

At last something like a theogony, though full of contradictions, was imagined, and in the same hymn from which we have already quoted, the poet says:

x. 72, 1–4. devắnâm nú vayám gắnâ prá vokâma vipanyáyâ, ukthéshu sasyámâneshu yáh (yát?) pásyât út-tare yugé. 1.

bráhmanah pátih etấ sám karmấrah-iva adhamat, devấnâm pûrvyé yugé ásatah sát agâyata. 2.

devấnâm yugé prathamé ásatah sát agâyata, tát ấsâh ánu agâyanta tát uttâná-padah pári. 3.

bhűh gagñe uttâná-padah bhuváh ấsâh agâyanta, áditeh dákshah agâyata, dákshât ûm (íti) áditih pári. 4.

1. Let us now with praise proclaim the births of the gods, that a man may see them in a future age, whenever these hymns are sung.

2. Brahmanaspati* blew them together like a smith (with his bellows); in a former age of the gods, Being was born from Not-being.

3. In the first age of the gods, Being was born from Not-being, after it were born the Regions, from them Uttânapada;

4. From Uttânapad the Earth was born, the Regions were born from the Earth. Daksha was born of Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.

The ideas of Being and Not-being (τὸ ὄν and τὸ μὴ ὄν) are familiar to the Hindus from a very early time in their intellectual growth, and they can only have been the result of abstract speculation. Therefore dáksha, too, in the sense of power or *potentia*, may have been a metaphysical conception. But it may also have been suggested by a mere accident of language, a never-failing source of ancient thoughts. The name dáksha-pitarah, an epithet of the gods, has generally been translated by 'those who have Daksha for their father.' But it may have been used originally in a very different sense. Professor Roth has, I think, convincingly proved that this epithet dáksha-pitar, as given to certain gods, does not mean, the gods who have Daksha for their father, but that it had originally the simpler meaning of fathers of strength, or, as he

* Bráhmanaspáti, literally the lord of prayer, or the lord of the sacrifice, sometimes a representative of Agni (i. 38, 13, note), but by no means identical with him (see vii. 41, 1); sometimes performing the deeds of Indra, but again by no means identical with him (see ii. 23, 18. índrena yugấ—níh apấm aubgah arnavám; cf. viii. 96, 15). In ii. 26, 3, he is called father of the gods (devấnâm pitáram); in ii. 23, 2, the creator of all beings (vísveshâm ganitấ).

translates it, 'preserving, possessing, granting faculties*.' This is particularly clear in one passage:

iii. 27, 9. bhûtânâm gárbham ấ dadhe, dákshasya pitáram.

I place Agni, the source of all beings, the father of strength . . . . .

After this we can hardly hesitate how to translate the next verse:

vi. 50, 2. su-*g*yótisha*h*—dáksha-pit*r*în—devấn.

The resplendent gods, the fathers of strength.

It may seem more doubtful when we come to gods like Mitra and Varu*n*a, whom we are so much accustomed to regard as Âdityas, or sons of Aditi, and who therefore, according to the theogony mentioned before, would have the best claim to the name of sons of Daksha; yet here, too, the original and simple meaning is preferable; nay, it is most likely that from passages like this, the later explanation, which makes Mitra and Varu*n*a the sons of Daksha, may have sprung.

vii. 66, 2. yấ—su-dákshâ dáksha-pitarâ.

Mitra and Varu*n*a, who are of good strength, the fathers of strength.

Lastly, even men may claim this name; for, unless we change the accent, we must translate:

viii. 63, 10. avasyáva*h* yushmấbhi*h* dáksha-pitara*h*.

We suppliants, being, through your aid, fathers of strength.

But whatever view we take, whether we take dáksha in the sense of power, as a personification of a philosophical conception, or as the result of a mythological misunderstanding occasioned by the name of dáksha-pitar, the fact remains that in certain hymns of the Rig-veda (viii. 25, 5) Dáksha, like Áditi, has become a divine person, and has retained his place as one of the Âdityas to the very latest time of Purā*n*ic tradition.

* The accent in this case cannot help us in determining whether dáksha-pitar means having Daksha for their father (Λοκροπάτωρ), or father of strength. In the first case dáksha would rightly retain its accent (dáksha-pitar) as a Bahuvrîhi; in the second, the analogy of such Tatpurusha compounds as grihá-pati (Pâ*n*. vi. 2, 18) would be sufficient to justify the pûrvapadaprak*r*itisvaratvam.

Aditi in her Cosmic Character.

But to return to Aditi. Let us look upon her as the Infinite personified, and most passages, even those where she is presented as a subordinate deity, will become intelligible.

Aditi, in her cosmic character, is the beyond, the unbounded realm beyond earth, sky, and heaven, and originally she was distinct from the sky, the earth, and the ocean. Aditi is mentioned by the side of heaven and earth, which shows that, though in more general language she may be identified with heaven and earth in their unlimited character, her original conception was different. This we see in passages where different deities or powers are invoked together, particularly if they are invoked together in the same verse, and where Aditi holds a separate place by the side of heaven and earth:

i. 94, 16 (final). tát na*h* mitrá*h* váru*n*a*h* mamahantâm áditi*h* síndhu*h* p*ri*thivî́ utá dyaú*h*.

May Mitra and Varu*n*a grant us this, may Aditi, Sindhu (sea), the Earth, and the Sky!

In other passages, too, where Aditi has assumed a more personal character, she still holds her own by the side of heaven and earth; cf. ix. 97, 58 (final):

i. 191, 6. dyaú*h* va*h* pitắ p*ri*thivî́ mâtắ sóma*h* bhrắtâ áditi*h* svásâ.

The Sky is your father, the Earth your mother, Soma your brother, Aditi your sister.

viii. 101, 15. mâtắ rudrắ*n*âm duhitắ vásûnâm svásâ âdityắnâm am*rí*tasya nắbhi*h*, prá nú vo*k*am *k*ikitúshe *g*ánâya mắ gắm ánâgâm áditim vadhish*t*a.

The mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Âdityas, the source of immortality, I tell it forth to the man of understanding, may he not offend the cow, the guiltless Aditi! Cf. i. 153, 3; ix. 96, 15; Vâ*g*asan. Sanhitâ xiii. 49.

vi. 51, 5. dyaũ*h* pítar (íti) p*rí*thivi mắta*h* ádhruk ágne bhrâta*h* vasava*h* m*ril*áta na*h*, ví*s*ve âdityâ*h* adite sa-*g*óshâ*h* asmábhyam *s*árma bahulám vi yanta.

Sky, father, Earth, kind mother, Fire, brother, bright

gods, have mercy upon us! All Âdityas (and) Aditi together, grant us your manifold protection!

x. 63, 10. su-trā̆mâ*n*am p*r*ithivī́m dyā́m anehásam su-*s*ármâ*n*am áditim su-pránîtim, daívîm nā́vam su-aritrā́m ánâgasam ásravantîm ā́ ruhema svastáye.

We invoke the well-protecting Earth, the unrivalled Sky, the well-shielding Aditi, the good guide. Let us enter for safety into the divine boat, with good oars, faultless and leakless!

x. 66, 4. áditi*h* dyā́vâp*r*ithivī́ (íti).

Aditi, and Heaven and Earth.

Where two or more verses come together, the fact that Aditi is mentioned by the side of Heaven and Earth may seem less convincing, because in these Nivids or long strings of invocations different names or representatives of one and the same power are not unfrequently put together. For instance,

x. 36, 1–3. ushásânáktâ b*r*ihatī́ (íti) su-pé*s*asâ dyā́vâ-kshā́mâ váru*n*a*h* mitrá*h* aryamā́, índram huve marúta*h* párvatân apá*h* âdityā́n dyā́vâp*r*ithivī́ (íti) apá*h* svā́r (íti svā́*h*). 1.

dyaú*h* *k*a na*h* p*r*ithivī́ *k*a prá-*k*etasâ *r*itávarî (íty ritá-varî) rakshatâm á*m*hasa*h* rishá*h*, mā́ du*h*-vidátrâ ní*h*-*r*iti*h* na*h* î*s*ata tát devā́nâm áva*h* adyá v*r*i*n*îmahe. 2.

ví*s*vasmât na*h* áditi*h* pâtu á*m*hasa*h* mâtā́ mitrásya váru-*n*asya revâta*h* svā́*h*-vat *g*yóti*h* av*r*ikám na*s*îmahi. 3.

1. There are the grand and beautiful Morning and Night, Heaven and Earth, Varu*n*a, Mitra, Aryaman, I call Indra, the Maruts, the Waters, the Âdityas, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, the Heaven.

2. May Heaven and Earth, the provident, the righteous, preserve us from sin and mischief! May the malevolent Nir*r*iti not rule over us! This blessing of the gods we ask for to-day.

3. May Aditi protect us from all sin, the mother of Mitra and of the rich Varu*n*a! May we obtain heavenly light without enemies! This blessing of the gods we ask for to-day.

Here we cannot but admit that Dyā́vâkshā́mâ, heaven and earth, is meant for the same divine couple as

Dyấvâprithivî́, heaven and earth, although under slightly differing names they are invoked separately. The waters are invoked twice in the same verse and under the same name; nor is there any indication that, as in other passages, the waters of the sky are meant as distinct from the waters of the sea. Nevertheless even here, Aditi, who in the third verse is called distinctly the mother of Mitra and Varuna, cannot well have been meant for the same deity as Heaven and Earth, mentioned in the second verse; and the author of these two verses, while asking the same blessing from both, must have been aware of the original independent character of Aditi.

Aditi as Mother.

In this character of a deity of the far East, of an Orient in the true sense of the word, Aditi was naturally thought of as the mother of certain gods, particularly of those that were connected with the daily rising and setting of the sun. If it was asked whence comes the dawn, or the sun, or whence come day and night, or Mitra and Varuna, or any of the bright, solar, eastern deities, the natural answer was that they come from the Orient, that they are the sons of Aditi. Thus we read in

ix. 74, 3. urvî́ gávyûti*h* ádite*h* *r*itám yaté.

Wide is the space for him who goes on the right path of Aditi.

In viii. 25, 3, we are told that Aditi bore Mitra and Varu*n*a, and these in verse 5 are called the sons of Daksha (power), and the grandsons of *S*avas, which again means might: nápâtâ *s*ávasa*h* mahá*h* sûnû́ (íti) dákshasya su-krátû (íti). In x. 36, 3, Aditi is called the mother of Mitra and Varu*n*a; likewise in x. 132, 6; see also vi. 67, 4. In viii. 47, 9, Aditi is called the mother of Mitra, Aryaman, Varu*n*a, who in vii. 60, 5, are called her sons. In x. 11, 1, Varu*n*a is called yahvá*h* ádite*h*, the son of Aditi (cf. viii. 19, 12); in vii. 41, 2, Bhaga is mentioned as her son. In x. 72, 8, we hear of eight sons of Aditi, but it is added that she approached the gods with seven sons only, and that the eighth (mârtâ*n*dá, addled egg) was thrown away: ash*t*aú

putrásah áditeh yé gâtâh tanvâh pári, devân úpa prá ait saptá-bhih párâ mârtândám âsyat.

In x. 63, 2, the gods in general are represented as born from Aditi, the waters, and the earth: yé sthá gâtâh áditeh at-bhyáh pári yé prithivyâh té me ihá sruta hávam.

You who are born of Aditi, from the water, you who are born of the earth, hear ye all my call!

The number seven, with regard to the Âdityas, occurs also in

ix. 114, 3. saptá dísah nânâ-sûryâh saptá hótârah ritvígah, devâh âdityâh yé saptá tébhih soma abhí raksha nah.

There are seven regions with their different suns, there are seven Hotars as priests, those who are the seven gods, the Âdityas, with them, O Soma, protect us!

The Seven Âdityas.

This number of seven Âdityas requires an explanation which, however, it is difficult to give. To say that seven is a solemn or sacred number is to say very little, for however solemn or sacred that number may be elsewhere, it is not more sacred than any other number in the Veda. The often-mentioned seven rivers have a real geographical foundation, like the seven hills of Rome. The seven flames or treasures of Agni (v. 1, 5) and of Soma and Rudra (vi. 74, 1), the seven paridhis or logs at certain sacrifices (x. 90, 15), the seven Harits or horses of the sun, the seven Hotar priests (iii. 7, 7; 10, 4), the seven cities of the enemy destroyed by Indra (i. 63, 7), and even the seven Rishis (x. 82, 2; 109, 4), all these do not prove that the number of seven was more sacred than the number of one or three or five or ten used in the Veda in a very similar way. With regard to the seven Âdityas, however, we are still able to see that their number of seven or eight had something to do with solar movements. If their number had always been eight, we should feel inclined to trace the number of the Âdityas back to the eight regions, or the eight cardinal points of the heaven. Thus we read:

i. 35, 8. ashtaú ví akhyat kakúbhah prithivyâh.

The god Savitar lighted up the eight points of the earth (not the eight hills).

But we have seen already that though the number of Âdityas was originally supposed to have been eight, it was reduced to seven, and this could hardly be said in any sense of the eight points of the compass. Cf. Taitt. Âr. i. 7, 6.

As we cannot think in ancient India of the seven planets, I can only suggest the seven days or tithis of the four parvans of the lunar month as a possible prototype of the Âdityas. This might even explain the destruction of the eighth Âditya, considering that the eighth day of each parvan, owing to its uncertainty, might be represented as exposed to decay and destruction. This would explain such passages as,

iv. 7, 5. yá*g*ish*th*am saptá dhắma-bhi*h*.

Agni, most worthy of sacrifice in the seven stations.

ix. 102, 2. ya*g*ñásya saptá dhắma-bhi*h*.

In the seven stations of the sacrifice.

The seven threads of the sacrifice may have the same origin:

ii. 5, 2. ắ yásmin saptá ra*s*máya*h* tatắ*h* ya*g*ñásya netári, manushvát daívyam ash*t*amám.

In whom, as the leader of the sacrifice, the seven threads are stretched out,—the eighth divine being is manlike (?).

The sacrifice itself is called, x. 124, 1, saptá-tantu, having seven threads.

x. 122, 3. saptá dhắmâni pari-yán ámartya*h*.

Agni, the immortal, who goes round the seven stations.

x. 8, 4. ushá*h*-usha*h* hí vaso (íti) ágram éshi tvám yamáyo*h* abhava*h* vi-bhắvâ, *r*itắya saptá dadhishe padắni *g*anáyan mitrám tanvẽ svắyai.

For thou, Vasu (Agni), comest first every morning, thou art the divider of the twins (day and night). Thou takest for the rite the seven names, creating Mitra (the sun) for thy own body.

x. 5, 6. saptá maryắdâ*h* kaváya*h* tatakshu*h* tắsâm ékâm ít abhí a*m*hurá*h* gât.

The sages established the seven divisions, but mischief befel one of them.

i. 22, 16. átah devā́h avantu nah yátah víshnuh vi-kakramé prithivyā́h saptá dhā́ma-bhih.

May the gods protect us from whence Vishnu strode forth, by the seven stations of the earth!

Even the names of the seven or eight Âdityas are not definitely known, at least not from the hymns of the Rig-veda. In ii. 27, 1, we have a list of six names: Mitrá, Aryamán, Bhága, Váruna, Dáksha, Ámsah. These with Áditi would give us seven. In vi. 50, 1, we have Áditi, Váruna, Mitrá, Agní, Aryamán, Savitár, and Bhága. In i. 89, 3, Bhága, Mitrá, Áditi, Dáksha, Aryamán, Váruna, Sóma, Asvínâ, and Sárasvatî are invoked together with an old invocation, pū́rvayâ ni-vídâ. In the Taittirîya-âranyaka, i. 13, 3, we find the following list: 1. Mitra, 2. Varuna, 3. Dhâtar, 4. Aryaman, 5. Amsa, 6. Bhaga, 7. Indra, 8. Vivasvan, but there, too, the eighth son is said to be Mârtânda, or, according to the commentator, Âditya.

The character of Aditi as the mother of certain gods is also indicated by some of her epithets, such as rā́ga-putrâ, having kings for her sons; su-putrā́, having good sons; ugra-putrâ, having terrible sons:

ii. 27, 7. pípartu nah áditih rā́ga-putrâ áti dvéshâmsi aryamā́ su-gébhih, brihát mitrásya várunasya sárma úpa syâma puru-vī́râh árishtâh.

May Aditi with her royal sons, may Aryaman carry us on easy roads across the hatreds; may we with many sons and without hurt obtain the great protection of Mitra and Varuna!

iii. 4, 11. barhíh nah âstâm áditih su-putrā́.

May Aditi with her excellent sons sit on our sacred pile!

viii. 67, 11. párshi dîné gabhîré ā́ úgra-putre gíghâmsatah, mā́kih tokásya nah rishat.

Protect us, O goddess with terrible sons, from the enemy in shallow or deep water, and no one will hurt our offspring!

Aditi identified with other Deities.

Aditi, however, for the very reason that she was originally intended for the Infinite, for something beyond the visible world, was liable to be identified with a number of finite

deities which might all be represented as resting on Aditi, as participating in Aditi, as being Aditi. Thus we read:

i. 89, 10 (final). áditi*h* dyaú*h* áditi*h* antáriksham áditi*h* mâtā́ sá*h* pitā́ sá*h* putrá*h*, vísve devā́*h* áditi*h* pá*ñk*a *g*ánâ*h* áditi*h* *g*âtám áditi*h* *g*áni-tvam.

Aditi is the heaven, Aditi the sky, Aditi the mother, the father, the son. All the gods are Aditi, the five clans, the past is Aditi, Aditi is the future.

But although Aditi may thus be said to be everything, heaven, sky, and all the gods, no passage occurs, in the Rig-veda at least, where the special meaning of heaven or earth is expressed by Aditi. In x. 63, 3, where Aditi seems to mean sky, we shall see that it ought to be taken as a masculine, either in the sense of Âditya, or as an epithet, unbounded, immortal. In i. 72, 9, we ought probably to read p*r*ithvī́ and pronounce p*r*ithuvī́, and translate 'the wide Aditi, the mother with her sons;' and not, as Benfey does, 'the Earth, the eternal mother.'

It is more difficult to determine whether in one passage Aditi has not been used in the sense of life after life, or as the name of the place whither people went after death, or of the deity presiding over that place. In a well-known hymn, supposed to have been uttered by *S*una*hs*epa when on the point of being sacrificed by his own father, the following verse occurs:

i. 24, 1. ká*h* na*h* mahyaí áditaye púna*h* dât, pitáram *k*a d*r*i*s*éyam mâtáram *k*a.

Who will give us back to the great Aditi, that I may see father and mother?

As the supposed utterer of this hymn is still among the living, Aditi can hardly be taken in the sense of earth, nor would the wish to see father and mother be intelligible in the mouth of one who is going to be sacrificed by his own father. If we discard the story of *S*una*hs*epa, and take the hymn as uttered by any poet who craves for the protection of the gods in the presence of danger and death, then we may choose between the two meanings of earth or liberty, and translate, either, Who will give us back to the great earth? or, Who will restore us to the great Aditi, the goddess of freedom?

Aditi and Diti.

There is one other passage which might receive light if we could take Aditi in the sense of Hades, but I give this translation as a mere guess:

iv. 2, 11. râyé *k*a na*h* su-apatyẫya deva dítim *k*a rẫsva áditim urushya.

That we may enjoy our wealth and healthy offspring, give us this life on earth, keep off the life to come! Cf. i. 152, 6.

It should be borne in mind that Diti occurs in the Rig-veda thrice only, and in one passage it should, I believe, be changed into Aditi. This passage occurs in vii. 15, 12. tvám agne vîrá-vat yá*s*a*h* devá*h* *k*a savitẫ bhága*h*, díti*h* *k*a dâti vẫryam. Here the name of Diti is so unusual, and that of Aditi, on the contrary, so natural, that I have little doubt that the poet had put the name of Aditi; and that later reciters, not aware of the occasional license of putting two short syllables instead of one, changed it into Aditi. If we remove this passage, then Diti, in the Rig-veda at least, occurs twice only, and each time together or in contrast with Aditi; cf. v. 62, 8, page 231. I have no doubt, therefore, that Professor Roth is right when he says that Diti is a being without any definite conception, a mere reflex of Aditi. We can clearly watch her first emergence into existence through what is hardly more than a play of words, whereas in the epic and paura*n*ic literature this Diti has grown into a definite person, one of the daughters of Daksha, the wife of Ka*s*yapa, the mother of the enemies of the gods, the Daityas. Such is the growth of legend, mythology, and religion!

Aditi in her Moral Character.

Besides the cosmical character of Aditi, which we have hitherto examined, this goddess has also assumed a very prominent moral character. Aditi, like Varu*n*a, delivers from sin. Why this should be so, we can still understand if we watch the transition which led from a purely cosmical to a moral conception of Aditi. Sin in the Veda is frequently conceived as a bond or a chain from which the repentant sinner wishes to be freed:

vii. 86, 5. áva drugdhấni pítryâ sri*g*a na*h* áva yấ vayám *k*akrimá tanû́bhi*h*, áva râ*g*an pa*s*u-trípam ná tâyúm sri*g*á vatsám ná dấmna*h* vásish*th*am.

Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we have committed with our own bodies. Release Vasish*th*a, O king, like a thief who has feasted on stolen cattle; release him like a calf from the rope*.

viii. 67, 14. té na*h* âsná*h* vríkâ*n*âm ấdityâsa*h* mumó*k*ata stenám baddhám-iva adite.

O Âdityas, deliver us from the mouth of the wolves, like a bound thief, O Aditi! Cf. viii. 67, 18.

*S*una*hs*epa, who, as we saw before, wishes to be restored to the great Aditi, is represented as bound by ropes, and in v. 2, 7, we read:

*s*úna*h*-*s*épam *k*it ní-ditam sahásrât yû́pât amuñ*k*a*h* á*s*amish*t*a hí sá*h*, evá asmát agne ví mumugdhi pấ*s*ân hótar (íti) *k*ikitva*h* ihá tú ni-sádya.

O Agni, thou hast released the bound *S*una*hs*epa from the pale, for he had prayed; thus take from us, too, these ropes, O sagacious Hotar, after thou hast settled here.

Expressions like these, words like dấman, bond, ní-dita, bound, naturally suggested á-diti, the un-bound or unbounded, as one of those deities who could best remove the bonds of sin or misery. If we once realise this concatenation of thought and language, many passages of the Veda that seemed obscure, will become intelligible.

vii. 51, 1. âdityấnâm ávasâ nû́tanena sakshîmáhi *s*árma*n*â *s*ám-tamena, anâgâ*h*-tvé aditi-tvé turấsa*h* imám ya*g*ñám dadhatu *s*róshamâ*n*â*h*.

May we obtain the new favour of the Âdityas, their best protection; may the quick Maruts listen and place this sacrifice in guiltlessness and Aditi-hood.

I have translated the last words literally, in order to make their meaning quite clear. Ấgas has the same meaning as the Greek ἄγος, guilt, abomination; an-âgâs-tvá, therefore, as applied to a sacrifice or to the man who makes it, means guiltlessness, purity. Aditi-tvá, Aditi-hood, has a similar meaning, it means freedom from bonds, from

* See M. M., History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, 2nd ed., p. 541.

anything that hinders the proper performance of a religious act; it may come to mean perfection or holiness.

Aditi having once been conceived as granting this adititvá, soon assumed a very definite moral character, and hence the following invocations:

i. 24, 15. út ut-tamám varu*n*a pâ*s*am asmát áva adhamám ví madhyamám *s*rathaya, átha vayám âditya vraté táva ánâgasa*h* áditaye syâma.

O Varu*n*a, lift the highest rope, draw off the lowest, remove the middle; then, O Âditya, let us be in thy service free of guilt before Aditi.

v. 82, 6. ánâgasa*h* áditaye devásya savitú*h* savé, ví*s*vâ vâmâni dhîmahi.

May we, guiltless before Aditi, and in the keeping of the god Savitar, obtain all goods! Professor Roth here translates Aditi by freedom or security.

i. 162, 22. anâgâ*h*-tvám na*h* áditi*h* k*r*i*n*otu.

May Aditi give us sinlessness! Cf. vii. 51, 1.

iv. 12, 4. yát *k*it hí te purusha-trâ yavish*th*a á*k*itti-bhi*h* *k*ak*r*imá kát *k*it âga*h*, k*r*idhí sú asmân ádite*h* ánâgân ví énâ*m*si *s*i*s*ratha*h* víshvak agne.

Whatever, O youthful god, we have committed against thee, men as we are, whatever sin through thoughtlessness, make us guiltless of Aditi, loosen the sins on all sides, O Agni!

vii. 93, 7. sá*h* agne enâ námasâ sám-iddha*h* á*kkh*a mitrám váru*n*am índram vo*k*e*h*, yát sîm âga*h* *k*ak*r*imá tát sú m*r*i*l*a tát aryamâ áditi*h* *s*i*s*rathantu.

O Agni, thou who hast been kindled with this adoration, greet Mitra, Varu*n*a, and Indra. Whatever sin we have committed, do thou pardon it! May Aryaman, Aditi loose it!

Here the plural *s*i*s*rathantu should be observed, instead of the dual.

viii. 18, 6–7. áditi*h* na*h* dívâ pa*s*úm áditi*h* náktam ádvayâ*h*, áditi*h* pâtu á*m*hasa*h* sadâ-v*r*idhâ.

utá syâ na*h* dívâ matí*h* áditi*h* ûtyâ â gamat, sâ *s*ám-tâti máya*h* karat ápa srídha*h*.

May Aditi by day protect our cattle, may she, who never deceives, protect by night; may she, with steady increase, protect us from evil!

And may she, the thoughtful Aditi, come with help to

us by day; may she kindly bring happiness to us, and carry away all enemies! Cf. x. 36, 3, page 239.

x. 87, 18. ấ vri*sk*yantâm áditaye du*h*-évâ*h*.

May the evil-doers be cut off from Aditi! or literally, may they be rooted out before Aditi!

ii. 27, 14. ádite mítra váru*n*a utá mri*l*a yát va*h* vayám *k*akrimá kát *k*it ấga*h*, urú a*s*yâm ábhayam *g*yóti*h* indra mấ na*h* dîrghấ*h* abhí na*s*an támisrâ*h*.

Aditi, Mitra, and also Varu*n*a forgive, if we have committed any sin against you. May I obtain the wide and fearless light, O Indra! May not the long darkness reach us!

vii. 87, 7. yá*h* mri*l*áyâti *k*akrúshe *k*it ấga*h* vayám syâma váru*n*e ánâgâ*h*, ánu vratấni ádite*h* ridhánta*h* yuyám pâta svastí-bhi*h* sádâ na*h*.

May we be sinless before Varu*n*a, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin, and may we follow the laws of Aditi! Protect us always with your blessings!

Lastly, Aditi, like all other gods, is represented as a giver of worldly goods, and implored to bestow them on her worshippers, or to protect them by her power:

i. 43, 2. yáthâ na*h* áditi*h* kárat pá*s*ve nrí-bhya*h* yáthâ gáve, yáthâ tokấya rudríyam.

That Aditi may bring Rudra's favour to our cattle, our men, our cow, our offspring.

i. 153, 3. pîpấya dhenú*h* áditi*h* ritấya *g*ánâya mitrâvaru*n*â havi*h*-dé.

Aditi, the cow, gives food to the righteous man, O Mitra and Varu*n*a, who makes offerings to the gods. Cf. viii. 101, 15.

i. 185, 3. anehá*h* dâtrám ádite*h* anarvám huvé.

I call for the unrivalled, uninjured gift of Aditi. Here Professor Roth again assigns to Aditi the meaning of freedom or security.

vii. 40, 2. dídesh*t*u devī́ áditi*h* rékna*h*.

May the divine Aditi assign wealth!

x. 100, 1. ấ sarvá-tâtim áditim vri*n*îmahe.

We implore Aditi for health and wealth.

i. 94, 15. yásmai tvám su-dravi*n*a*h* dádâ*s*a*h* anâgâ*h*-tvám adite sarvá-tâtâ, yám bhadré*n*a *s*ávasâ *k*odáyâsi pra*g*ấ-vatâ rấdhasâ té syâma.

To whom thou, possessor of good treasures, grantest guiltlessness, O Aditi, in health and wealth*, whom thou quickenest with precious strength and with riches in progeny, may we be they! Cf. ii. 40, 6; iv. 25, 5; x. 11, 2.

The principal epithets of Aditi have been mentioned in the passages quoted above, and they throw no further light on the nature of the goddess. She was called devī́, goddess, again and again; another frequent epithet is anarván, uninjured, unscathed. Being invoked to grant light (vii. 82, 10), she is herself called luminous, *g*yótishmatî, i. 136, 3; and svãrvatî, heavenly. Being the goddess of the infinite expanse, she, even with greater right than the dawn, is called úrû*k*î, viii. 67, 12; uruvyá*k*as, v. 46, 6; uruvra*g*â, viii. 67, 12; and possibly p*r*ithvī́ in i. 72, 9. As supporting everything, she is called dhârayátkshiti, supporting the earth, i. 136, 3; and vi*s*vá*g*anyâ, vii. 10, 4. To her sons she owes the names of rã*g*aputrâ, ii. 27, 7; suputrã, iii. 4, 11; and ugraputrâ, viii. 67, 11: to her wealth that of sudravi*n*as, i. 94, 15, though others refer this epithet to Agni. There remains one name pastyã, iv. 55, 3; viii. 27, 5, meaning housewife, which again indicates her character as mother of the gods.

I have thus given all the evidence that can be collected from the Rig-veda as throwing light on the character of the goddess Aditi, and I have carefully excluded everything that rests only on the authority of the Ya*g*ur- or Atharva-vedas, or of the Brâhma*n*as and Âra*n*yakas, because in all they give beyond the repetitions from the Rig-veda, they seem to me to represent a later phase of thought that ought not to be mixed up with the more primitive conceptions of the Rig-veda. Much valuable material for an analytical study of Aditi may be found in B. and R.'s Dictionary, and in several of Dr. Muir's excellent contributions to a knowledge of Vedic theogony and mythology.

---

* On sarvátâti, *salus*, see Benfey's excellent remarks in Orient und Occident, vol. ii. p. 519. Professor Roth takes aditi here as an epithet of Agni.

Aditi as an Adjective.

But although the foregoing remarks give as complete a description of Aditi as can be gathered from the hymns of the Rig-veda, a few words have to be added on certain passages where the word áditi occurs, and where it clearly cannot mean the goddess Aditi, as a feminine, but must be taken either as the name of a corresponding masculine deity, or as an adjective in the sense of unrestrained, independent, free.

v. 59, 8. mímâtu dyaú*h* áditi*h* vîtáye na*h*.

May the boundless Dyú (sky) help us to our repast!

Here áditi must either be taken in the sense of Âditya, or better in its original sense of unbounded, as an adjective belonging to Dyú, the masculine deity of the sky.

Dyú or the sky is called áditi or unbounded in another passage, x. 63, 3:

yébhya*h* mâtā́ mádhu-mat pínvate páya*h* pîyū́sham dyaú*h* áditi*h* ádri-barhâ*h*.

The gods to whom their mother yields the sweet milk, and the unbounded sky, as firm as a rock, their food.

iv. 3, 8. kathā́ *s*árdhâya marútâm *r*itā́ya kathā́ sûré b*r*ihaté p*r*i*kk*hyámâna*h*, práti brava*h* áditaye turā́ya.

How wilt thou tell it to the host of the Maruts, how to the bright heaven, when thou art asked? How to the quick Aditi?

Here Aditi cannot be the goddess, partly on account of the masculine gender of turā́ya, partly because she is never called quick. Aditi must here be the name of one of the Âdityas, or it may refer back to sûré b*r*ihaté. It can hardly be joined, as Professor Roth proposes, with *s*árdhâya marútâm, owing to the intervening sûré b*r*ihaté.

In several passages áditi, as an epithet, refers to Agni:

iv. 1, 20 (final). ví*s*veshâm áditi*h* ya*g*ñíyânâm ví*s*veshâm átithi*h* mā́nushâ*n*âm.

He, Agni, the Aditi, or the freest, among all the gods; he the guest among all men.

The same play on the words áditi and átithi occurs again:

vii. 9, 3. ámûra*h* kaví*h* áditi*h* vivásvân su-sa*m*sát mitrá*h* átithi*h* *s*ivá*h* na*h*, *k*itrá-bhânu*h* ushásâm bhâti ágre.

The wise poet, Aditi, Vivasvat, Mitra with his good company, our welcome guest, he (Agni) with brilliant light came at the head of the dawns.

Here, though I admit that several renderings are possible, Aditi is meant as a name of Agni, to whom the whole hymn is addressed; and who, as usual, is identified with other gods, or, at all events, invoked by their names. We may translate áditi*h* vivásvân by 'the brilliant Aditi,' or 'the unchecked, the brilliant,' or by 'the boundless Vivasvat,' but on no account can we take áditi here as the female goddess. The same applies to viii. 19, 14, where Aditi, unless we suppose the goddess brought in in the most abrupt way, must be taken as a name of Agni; while in x. 92, 14, áditim anarvá*n*am, to judge from other epithets given in the same verse, has most likely to be taken again as an appellative of Agni. In some passages it would, no doubt, be possible to take Aditi as the name of a female deity, if it were certain that no other meaning could be assigned to this word. But if we once know that Aditi was the name of a male deity also, the structure of these passages becomes far more perfect if we take Aditi in that sense:

iv. 39, 3. ánâgasam tám áditi*h* k*r*i*n*otu sá*h* mitré*n*a váru*n*ena sa-*g*óshâ*h*.

May Aditi make him free from sin, he who is allied with Mitra and Varu*n*a.

We have had several passages in which Aditi, the female deity, is represented as sa*g*óshâ*h* or allied with other Âdityas, but if sá*h* is the right reading here, Aditi in this verse can only be the male deity. The pronoun sá cannot refer to tám.

With regard to other passages, such as ix. 81, 5; vi. 51, 3, and even some of those translated above in which Aditi has been taken as a female goddess, the question must be left open till further evidence can be obtained. There is only one more passage which has been often discussed, and where áditi was supposed to have the meaning of earth:

vii. 18, 8. du*h*-âdhyâ*h* áditim sreváyanta*h* a*k*etása*h* ví *g*agribhre párush*n*îm.

Professor Roth in one of his earliest essays translated this line, 'The evil-disposed wished to dry the earth, the fools split the Parush*n*î,' and he supposed its meaning to have been that the enemies of Sudâs swam across the Parush*n*î in order to attack Sudâs. We might accept this translation, if it could be explained how by throwing themselves into the river, the enemies made the earth dry, though even then there would remain this difficulty that, with the exception of one other doubtful passage, discussed before, áditi never means earth. I should therefore propose to translate: 'The evil-disposed, the fools, laid dry and divided the resistless river Parush*n*î.' This would be a description of a strategem very common in ancient warfare, viz. diverting the course of a river and laying its original bed dry by digging a new channel, and thus dividing the old river. This is also the sense accepted by Sâya*n*a, who does not say that vigraha means dividing the waves of a river, as Professor Roth renders kûlabheda, but that it means dividing or cutting through its banks. In the Dictionary Professor Roth assigns to áditi in this passage the meaning of endless, inexhaustible.

Verse 12, note [5]. Nothing is more difficult in the interpretation of the Veda than to gain an accurate knowledge of the power of particles and conjunctions. The particle *k*aná, we are told, is used both affirmatively and negatively, a statement which shows better than anything else the uncertainty to which every translation is as yet exposed. It is perfectly true that in the text of the Rig-veda, as we now read it, *k*aná means both indeed and no. But this very fact shows that we ought to distinguish where the first collectors of the Vedic hymns have not distinguished, and that while in the former case we read *k*aná, we ought in the latter to read *k*a ná.

I begin with those passages in which *k*aná is used emphatically and as one word.

I *a*. In negative sentences:

i. 18, 7. yásmât *r*ité ná sídhyati ya*g*ñá*h* vipa*h*-*k*íta*h* *k*aná.

Without whom the sacrifice does not succeed, not even that of the sage.

v. 34, 5. ná ásunvatâ sa*k*ate púshyatâ *k*aná.

He does not cling to a man who offers no libations, even though he be thriving.

i. 24, 6. nahí te kshatrám ná sáha*h* ná manyúm váya*h* *k*aná amí̂ (íti) patáyanta*h* âpú*h*.

For thy power, thy strength, thy anger even these birds which fly up, do not reach. Cf. i. 100, 15.

i. 155, 5. t*r*itî́yam asya náki*h* ấ dadharshati váya*h* *k*aná patáyanta*h* patatrí*n*a*h*.

This third step no one approaches, not even the winged birds which fly up.

i. 55, 1. divá*h* *k*it asya varimấ ví paprátha, índram ná mahnấ p*r*ithivî́ *k*aná práti.

The width of the heavens is stretched out, even the earth in her greatness is no match for Indra.

I *b*. In positive sentences:

vii. 32, 13. pûrvî́*h* *k*aná prá-sitaya*h* taranti tám yá*h* índre kárma*n*â bhúvat.

Even many snares pass him who is with Indra in his work.

viii. 2, 14. ukthám *k*aná *s*asyámânam ágo*h* arí*h* ấ *k*iketa, ná gâyatrám gîyámânam.

A poor man may learn indeed a prayer that is recited, but not a hymn that is sung.

viii. 78, 10. táva ít indra ahám â-*s*ásâ háste dấtram *k*aná ấ dade.

Trusting in thee alone, O Indra, I take even this sickle in my hand.

i. 55, 5. ádha *k*aná *s*rát dadhati tvíshi-mate índrâya vá*g*ram ni-ghánighnate vadhám.

Then indeed they believe in Indra, the majestic, when he hurls the bolt to strike.

i. 152, 2. etát *k*aná tva*h* ví *k*iketat eshâm.

Does one of them understand even this?

iv. 18, 9. mámat *k*aná used in the same sense as mámat *k*it.

i. 139, 2. dhîbhí*h* *k*aná mánasâ svébhi*h* akshá-bhi*h*.

v. 41, 13. váya*h* *k*aná su-bhvấ*h* ấ áva yanti.

vii. 18, 9. âsúh kaná ít abhi-pitvám gagâma.

viii. 91, 3. ấ kaná tvâ kikitsâmah ádhi kaná tvâ ná imasi.

We wish to know thee, indeed, but we cannot understand thee.

x. 49, 5. ahám randhayam mrígayam srutárvane yát mâ ágihîta vayúnâ kaná ânu-shák.

vi. 26, 7. ahám kaná tát sûrí-bhih ânasyâm.

May I also obtain this with my wise friends.

I *c*. Frequently kaná occurs after interrogative pronouns, to which it imparts an indefinite meaning, and principally in negative sentences:

i. 74, 7. ná yóh upabdíh ásvyah srinvé ráthasya kát kaná, yát agne yấsi dûtyấm.

No sound of horses is heard, and no sound of the chariot, when thou, O Agni, goest on thy message.

i. 81, 5. ná tvấ-vân indra káh kaná ná gâtáh ná ganishyaté.

No one is like thee, O Indra, no one has been born, no one will be!

i. 84, 20. mấ te rấdhâmsi mấ te ûtáyah vaso (íti) asmấn kádâ kaná dabhan.

May thy gifts, may thy help, O Vasu, never fail us!

Many more passages might be given to illustrate the use of kaná or kás kaná and its derivatives in negative sentences.

Cf. i. 105, 3; 136, 1; 139, 5; ii. 16, 3; 23, 5; 28, 6; iii. 36, 4; iv. 31, 9; v. 42, 6; 82, 2; vi. 3, 2; 20, 4; 47, 1; 3; 48, 17; 54, 9; 59, 4; 69, 8; 75, 16; vii. 32, 1; 19; 59, 3; 82, 7; 104, 3; viii. 19, 6; 23, 15; 24, 15; 28, 4; 47, 7; 64, 2; 66, 13; 68, 19; ix. 61, 27; 69, 6; 114, 4; x. 33, 9; 39, 11; 48, 5; 49, 10; 59, 8; 62, 9; 85, 3; 86, 11; 95, 1; 112, 9; 119, 6; 7; 128, 4; 129, 2; 152, 1; 168, 3; 185, 2.

I *d*. In a few passages, however, we find the indefinite pronoun kás kaná used in sentences which are not negative:

i. 113, 8. ushấh mritám kám kaná bodháyantî.

Ushas, who wakes even the dead, (or one who is as if dead.)

i. 191, 7. ádrish*t*â*h* kím *k*aná ihá va*h* sárve sâkám ní *g*asyata.

Invisible ones, whatever you are, vanish all together!

II. We now come to passages in which *k*aná stands for *k*a ná, and therefore renders the sentence negative without any further negative particle:

ii. 16, 2. yásmât índrât b*r*ihatá*h* kím *k*aná îm *r*ité.

Beside whom, (beside) the great Indra, there is not anything.

ii. 24, 12. vísvam satyám magha-vânâ yuvó*h* ít ấpa*h* *k*aná prá minanti vratám vâm.

Everything, you mighty ones, belongs indeed to you; even the waters do not transgress your law.

iii. 30, 1. títikshante abhí-sastim *g*ánânâm índra tvát ấ ká*h* *k*aná hí pra-ketá*h*.

They bear the scoffing of men; for Indra, away from thee there is no wisdom.

iv. 30, 3. vísve *k*aná ít anấ tvâ devấsa*h* indra yuyudhu*h*.

Even all the gods together do not fight thee, O Indra.

v. 34, 7. du*h*-gé *k*aná dhriyate vísva*h* ấ purú *g*ána*h* yá*h* asya távishîm á*k*ukrudhat.

Even in a stronghold many a man is not often preserved who has excited his anger.

vii. 83, 2. yásmin â*g*ấ bhávati kím *k*aná priyám.

In which struggle there is nothing good whatsoever.

vii. 86, 6. svápna*h* *k*aná ít án*r*itasya pra-yotấ.

Even sleep does not remove all evil.

In this passage I formerly took *k*aná as affirmative, not as negative, and therefore assigned to prayotấ the same meaning which Sâya*n*a assigns to it, one who brings or mixes, whereas it ought to be, as rightly seen by Roth, one who removes.

viii. 1, 5. mahé *k*aná tvấm adri-va*h* párâ sulkấya deyâm, ná sahásrâya ná ayútâya va*g*ri-va*h* ná satấya sata-magha.

I should not give thee up, wielder of the thunderbolt, even for a great price, not for a thousand, not for ten thousand (?), not for a hundred, O Indra, thou who art possessed of a hundred powers!

viii. 51, 7. kadā́ *k*aná starī́*h* asi.
Thou art never sterile.
viii. 52, 7. kadā́ *k*aná prá yu*kk*hasi.
Thou art never weary.
viii. 55, 5. *k*ákshushâ *k*aná sam-náse.
Even with my eye I cannot reach them.
x. 56, 4. mahimná*h* eshâm pitára*h* *k*aná îsire.

Verse 12, note [6]. Considering the particular circumstances mentioned in this and the preceding hymn, of Indra's forsaking his companions, the Maruts, or even scorning their help, one feels strongly tempted to take tyá*g*as in its etymological sense of leaving or forsaking, and to translate, by his forsaking you, or if he should forsake you. The poet may have meant the word to convey that idea, which no doubt would be most appropriate here; but then it must be confessed, at the same time, that in other passages where tyá*g*as occurs, that meaning could hardly be ascribed to it. Strange as it may seem, no one who is acquainted with the general train of thought in the Vedic hymns can fail to see that tyá*g*as in most passages means attack, onslaught; it may be even the instrument of an attack, a weapon. How it should come to take this meaning is indeed difficult to explain, and I do not wonder that Professor Roth in his Dictionary simply renders the word by forlornness, need, danger, or by estrangement, unkindness, malignity. But let us look at the passages, and we shall see that these abstract conceptions are quite out of place:

viii. 47, 7. ná tám tigmám *k*aná tyá*g*a*h* ná drâsad abhí tám gurú.

No sharp blow, no heavy one, shall come near him whom you protect.

Here the two adjectives tigmá, sharp, and gurú, heavy, point to something tangible, and I feel much inclined to take tyá*g*as in this passage as a weapon, as something that is let off with violence, rather than in the more abstract sense of onslaught.

i. 169, 1. mahá*h* *k*it asi tyá*g*asa*h* varûtā́.
Thou art the shielder from a great attack.

iv. 43, 4. ká*h* vâm mahá*h* *k*it tyá*g*asa*h* abhī́ke urushyátam mâdhvî dasrâ na*h* ûtī́.

Who is against your great attack? Protect us with your help, ye givers of sweet drink, ye strong ones.

Here Professor Roth seems to join mahá*h* *k*it tyá*g*asa*h* abhī́ke urushyátam, but in that case it would be impossible to construe the first words, ká*h* vâm.

i. 119, 8. ága*kk*hatam krípamâ*n*am parâ-váti pitú*h* svásya tyá*g*asâ ní-bâdhitam.

You went from afar to the suppliant, who had been struck down by the violence of his own father.

According to Professor Roth tyá*g*as would here mean forlornness, need, or danger. But níbâdhita is a strong verb, as we may see in

viii. 64, 2. padā́ pa*n*ī́n arâdhása*h* ní bâdhasva mahā́n asi.

Strike the useless Pa*n*is down with thy foot, for thou art great.

x. 18, 11. út *s*vañ*k*asva p*r*ithivi mā́ ní bâdhathâ*h*.

Open, O earth, do not press on him (i.e. the dead, who is to be buried; cf. M. M., Über Todtenbestattung, Zeitschrift der D. M. G., vol. ix. p. xv).

vii. 83, 6. yátra rā́*g*a-bhi*h* da*s*á-bhi*h* ní-bâdhitam prá su-dā́sam ā́vatam t*r*ítsu-bhi*h* sahá.

When you protected Sudâs with the T*r*itsus, when he was pressed or set upon by the ten kings.

Another passage in which tyá*g*as occurs is,

vi. 62, 10. sánutyena tyá*g*asâ mártyasya vanushyatā́m ápi *s*īrshā́ vav*r*iktam.

By your covert attack turn back the heads of those even who harass the mortal.

Though this passage may seem less decisive, yet it is difficult to see how tyá*g*asâ could here, according to Professor Roth, be rendered by forlornness or danger. Something is required by which enemies can be turned back. Nor can it be doubtful that *s*īrshā́ is governed by vav*r*iktam, meaning turn back their heads, for the same expression occurs again in i. 33, 5. párâ *k*it *s*īrshā́ vav*r*i*g*u*h* té indra áya*g*vâna*h* yá*g*va-bhi*h* spárdhamânâ*h*.

Professor Benfey translates this verse by, 'Kopfüber flohn sie alle vor dir;' but it may be rendered more

literally, 'These lawless people fighting with the pious turned back their heads.'

x. 144, 6. evá tát índrah índunâ devéshu kit dhârayâte máhi tyágah.

Indeed through this draught Indra can hold out against that great attack even among the gods.

x. 79, 6. kím devéshu tyágah énah kakartha.

What insult, what sin hast thou committed among the gods?

In these two passages the meaning of tyágas as attack or assault is at least as appropriate as that proposed by Professor Roth, estrangement, malignity.

There remains one passage, vi. 3, 1. yám tvám mitréna várunah sa-góshâh déva pâsi tyágasâ mártam ámhah.

I confess that the construction of this verse is not clear to me, and I doubt whether it is possible to use tyágasâ as a verbal noun governing an accusative. If this were possible, one might translate, 'The mortal whom thou, O God (Agni), Varuna, together with Mitra, protectest by pushing back evil.' Anyhow, we gain nothing here, if we take tyágas in the sense of estrangement or malignity.

If it be asked how tyágas can possibly have the meaning which has been assigned to it in all the passages in which it occurs, viz. that of forcibly attacking or pushing away, we can only account for it by supposing that tyag, before it came to mean to leave, meant to push off, to drive away with violence, (verstossen instead of verlassen.) This meaning may still be perceived occasionally in the use of tyag; e.g. devâs tyagantu mâm, may the gods forsake me! i.e. may the gods drive me away! Even in the latest Sanskrit tyag is used with regard to an arrow that is let off. 'To expel' is expressed by nis-tyag. Those who believe in the production of new roots by the addition of prepositional prefixes might possibly see in tyag an original ati-ag, to drive off; but, however that may be, there is evidence enough to show that tyag expressed originally a more violent act of separation than it does in ordinary Sanskrit.

Verse 13, note [1]. *Sámsa*, masc., means a spell whether for good or for evil, a blessing as well as a curse. It means a curse, or, at all events, a calumny:

i. 18, 3. mấ na*h* *s*á*m*sa*h* ára*r*usha*h* dhûrtí*h* prá*n*ak mártyasya.

Let not the curse of the enemy, the onslaught of a mortal hurt us.

i. 94, 8. asmấkam *s*á*m*sa*h* abhí astu du*h*-dhyầ*h*.

May our curse fall on the wicked!

ii. 26, 1. *rig*ú*h* ít *s*á*m*sa*h* vanavat vanushyatá*h*.

May the straight curse strike the enemies! Cf. vii. 56, 19.

iii. 18, 2. tápa *s*á*m*sam ára*r*usha*h*.

Burn the curse of the enemy!

vii. 25, 2. âré tám *s*á*m*sam k*r*i*n*uhi ninitsó*h*.

Take far away the curse of the reviler! Cf. vii. 34, 12.

It means blessing:

ii. 31, 6. utá va*h* *s*á*m*sam u*s*í*g*âm-iva *s*masi.

We desire your blessing as a blessing for suppliants.

x. 31, 1. ấ na*h* devấnâm úpa vetu *s*á*m*sa*h*.

May the blessing of the gods come to us!

x. 7, 1. urushyá na*h* urú-bhi*h* deva *s*á*m*sai*h*.

Protect us, god, with thy broad blessings!

ii. 23, 10. mấ na*h* du*h*-*s*á*m*sa*h* abhi-dipsú*h* î*s*ata prá su-*s*á*m*sâ*h* matí-bhi*h* târishîmahi.

Let not an evil-speaking enemy conquer us; may we, enjoying good report, increase by our prayers!

Lastly, *s*á*m*sa means praise, the spell addressed by men to the gods, or prayer:

i. 33, 7. prá sunvatá*h* stuvatá*h* *s*á*m*sam âva*h*.

Thou hast regarded the prayer of him who offers libation and praise.

x. 42, 6. yásmin vayám dadhimá *s*á*m*sam índre.

Indra in whom we place our hope. Cf. â*s*a*m*s, Westergaard, Radices Linguæ Sanscritæ, s. v. *s*a*m*s.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

S 2